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The Shape of Things

IT IS INTERESTING, IF DISHEARTENING, TO speculate on what the government's action would have been in the steel and General Motors cases if it had been the C. I. O., and not the companies, which slapped the Administration in the face by rejecting government-proposed settlements. The screaming in Congress and the roaring in the White House against the unions would have been deafening. But by last week-end, in the present situation, there had emerged from the President's office nothing more than a somewhat sorrowful complaint that efforts to avert the steel strike were unavailing. No attempt was made to fix the blame; if Truman was even mildly irritated by United States Steel's rejection of his proposal, his vacuous statement of last Friday showed no sign of it. More important, it failed to set the stage for the dynamic, fighting action which he must take —not merely to promote reconversion but also to prevent the outright wrecking of the stabilization program and the government's regulatory role in post-war economics. As a first step the President must make plain to the people the nature and aims of the industrial conspiracy which, as Philip Murray accurately noted, has "deliberately set out to destroy labor unions, to provoke strikes and economic chaos, and to hi-jack the American people through uncontrolled profits and inflation." Despite his weak statement, there is some hope that the events of the past week have finally convinced Mr. Truman that he is dealing with something much more sinister than a wage fight. And there is also some hope that by clever, prompt, and pugnacious campaigning he can effect a collapse of the "finish-fight" gang. If not, the President must proceed with seizure of the steel industry and installation of the wage increase he proposed, despite the dangers and inordinate difficulties of such a step. But in either case Mr. Truman must begin by turning on steam—hot, and lots of it.

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BARELY OUT OF ITS SWADDLING CLOTHES, the UNO has been confronted with the very adult problem of the rights of a small state unfortunate enough to lie within the security zones of two major powers. The Iran government has lodged a complaint with the Security Council alleging Soviet interference in the internal affairs of Iran. Having attempted without success to enter into direct negotiations with Moscow, it has informed the Council that a situation "which may lead to international friction" has arisen and has asked that an investigation be made in accordance with Article 35 of the charter. As we write no official reply has been made by Russia, but it is understood that the Soviet government claims that the Azerbaijan rebellion was spontaneous. It justifies its refusal to permit Iranian troops to enter the province on the ground that the ensuing civil war would have created complications for the Red Army forces which are occupying Azerbaijan in accordance with the Anglo-Soviet-Iranian treaty of 1942.

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THESE EXPLANATIONS ARE PLAUSIBLE BUT not quite enough so to banish suspicions of ulterior Russian designs on Iran, particularly in view of Moscow's persistent and unexplained refusal to discuss the situation with Teheran. We hope therefore that the Soviet representative on the Security Council will be instructed to make a frank effort to reestablish confidence by assisting rather than blocking an investigation. For should the Russian veto be employed as a means of nullifying the right of appeal of a small power, the UNO would be off to a very bad start indeed. A crisis, however, is not inevitable. The Council undoubtedly will seek a method of dealing with the dispute which Russia can accept. And Russia, surely, will not be anxious to incur the odium which would attach to the first great power resorting to the veto. One possible action would be the dispatch of an investigating commission to Iran. Admittedly this might seem like a stall, but the facts in the case are far from clear and an authoritative exposition of them would be helpful. In any case, we imagine, the Security Council will urge another effort at direct negotiations. Realistically speaking, these would have more chance of success if Britain were included, for the root of the trouble in Iran is Anglo-Soviet rivalry. Both Britain and Russia have agreed to respect Iran's independence, but this guaranty is of little worth while they vie with each

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other to establish influence over its government. Unless both agree to keep hands off, there can be no lasting solution of the problem compatible with Iranian independence.

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DE GAULLE HAS ONCE AGAIN RESIGNED AS interim President of France and this time he insists that his decision is "irrevocable." Perhaps it will prove so: at least he is unlikely to come back except on his own terms. The immediate cause of his resignation appears to have been a new dispute over appropriations for the army to which De Gaulle wished to give priority despite the desperate economic situation. But this was only one of his many conflicts with the left parties underlying all of which was the fundamental issue of whether the new constitution should emphasize a strong and independent executive, as he desired, or should be based on sovereignty of the Assembly. Joint opposition to De Gaulle does not mean, however, that the Communists and Socialists would find it easy to work together in office. The Communist Party is making a bid for leadership of a new administration but it could not construct a Cabinet without the support of the Socialists. And an attempt to form a close alliance between Communists and Socialists might well split the latter in two. Another possibility, a government headed by a veteran, middle-of-the-road Socialist such as Vincent Auriol with equal representation for the Communists, could hardly prove lasting if the Communists insisted on exercising the right of opposition from inside the administration. The real difficulty is that while Communists and Socialists have some planks in common, mainly in the field of domestic economy, they differ acutely on other issues and particularly on foreign policy. Moreover they are in fierce competition for the support of the workers and the next election is not far off. In these circumstances the political crisis is unlikely to be speedily resolved and De Gaulle may be counting on the spectacle of the ship of state drifting in dangerous waters to arouse public demand for his return to the helm.

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IN THE LONG RUN THE DE GAULLE CRISIS cannot affect the decision of the National Constituent Assembly to force a showdown on the Spanish issue. By adopting unanimously last Friday its recommendation to the government to break with the Franco regime only a few hours after the Foreign Minister Bidault had announced "that France will act only in agreement with the United States and Great Britain," the Assembly showed clearly that it is in no mood to accept any new excuse for delay. The people of France doubt the determination of the United States to finish with fascism in Spain, and their skepticism regarding the British is still greater. The French press reacted violently to Mr. Bevin's incredible statement two weeks ago that there

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are enough troubles already in the world without taking on new ones in Spain. One hundred and fifty thousand Spanish refugees mingling everywhere in France with the resistance elements constantly exercise both a sentimental and a political pressure on the French people. This pressure is in turn reflected in the parties and in the Assembly and no government can resist it very long. Significantly enough, the resolution passed by the Assembly, very strong and clear-cut in its demand for a break, was much more circumspect in its reference to eventual recognition of the government-in-exile. It confirmed once more the weakness of the Giral Cabinet, and meanwhile a cable from London to the *New York Times* reported that Allied leaders were continuing their informal conferences with the former Prime Minister, Dr. Juan Negrín.

*

GENERAL EISENHOWER HAS INJECTED SOME measure of order and stability into the demobilization process, but his intervention clearly fails either to make any fundamental change in an ill-conceived system or to bring any comfort to its victims. The General is probably not to blame. Too much has already happened that cannot readily be undone. Convinced of the danger that he will too soon "run out of army," he cannot, for example, undo the harm caused by General Marshall's unfortunate assurance of three months ago that all men with two or more years of service would be eligible for discharge in March. He cannot restore the morale of men who had every right to expect their freedom, on points, in February and who are now told that they must idle away another six months of their lives. Nor can he alone make the sweeping change in the entire demobilization system that was officially hinted at when the G. I. demonstrations reached a peak two weeks ago. Any drastic change involves the framing of a clear-cut occupation policy—and that is a job for Congress and the President, not the Chief of Staff. Admiral Leahy, the President's military adviser, is quoted by Drew Pearson as saying that our forces in Germany and Japan could be curtailed, without sacrificing their effectiveness, to the point where the task could be handled by volunteers expressly recruited for the purpose, while the Pacific islands could be safely left to policing by the navy. Adequate manpower is available—and more would be available to the degree that the army were rid of its caste discriminations and other objectionable features. The real question is one of intelligently distributing that man-power.

*

THE POLITICAL FERMENT IN JAPAN PRODUCED by our occupation policies has so far been largely restricted to industrial workers, intellectuals, small business men, and other urban elements; very little seeped back into the countryside. As a result, many of the most vicious lesser lights of the jingoist and military-fascist societies are now to be found in the rural districts working with the police, local bureaucrats, landlords, and the underground reservist and chauvinist organizations to defeat democratic reforms. Organizers for the peasant unions and Socialist and Communist parties find it almost impossible to brave the reign of terror in the countryside. They can hope for little support from the American forces, since in many areas a second lieutenant and a squad of perhaps twenty men with a single interpreter must exercise control over hundreds of square miles. So poor are the intelligence facilities of these small forces that not infrequently the Japanese interpreter turns out to be a former militarist stalwart. This situation seriously imperils the chance of an anti-fascist victory in the coming elections, as well as the possibility of real land reforms, for these can be carried through only with the support of an aroused and organized peasantry. It can be corrected by improving our counter-intelligence work, by developing closer relations between the occupation forces and the peasant unions, by recentralizing occupation administration, and by stiffening military contingents with capable civilian officials willing to devote the next few years to assisting in the democratic transformation of rural Japan.

*

CREATION OF A UNO REFUGEE COMMISSION as proposed by Mr. Bevin seems unlikely at this time in view of the opposition of Zionists and the Soviet Union. Zionists fear that turning the problem over to the UNO would delay the solution of the Palestine question. And because the remaining non-Jewish displaced persons are mostly Poles, residents of the former Baltic states, or political refugees from Yugoslavia, the Russians oppose bringing such a potentially explosive political issue into the UNO. However, since UNRRA, which is now responsible for the refugees, is expected to terminate its activities by the end of 1946, it is essential that a permanent agency be ready to take over. At the moment the only international agency concerned with the problem of persons who cannot be repatriated is the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees. This committee's record is largely one of inaction and procrastination, but of course it has never received real support from the leading powers; nor has it the power to issue passports or the

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resources to organize large-scale resettlement projects. It is an instrument however that can and should be used until it is politically possible for the UNO to assume a responsibility that logically belongs to it.

✶

BY RAISING MARGIN REQUIREMENTS FOR security purchases to 100 per cent—in other words, by prohibiting the buying of stocks and bonds on credit—the Federal Reserve Board has shot its final bolt against a soaring market. In an article last week on the Stock Exchange boom, Keith Hutchison pointed to the possibility of this step but suggested that it would prove ineffective in view of the huge cash accumulations available for speculation and investment. The behavior of the New York exchanges the day after the Federal Reserve Board's action confirmed this opinion. At the opening, prices were moderately lower, but after reports that the steel strike was settled, renewed bidding for stocks produced a sharp rally. Later, when it was learned that these reports were false and that U. S. Steel had rejected the President's wage proposal, there was another bout of selling. Clearly traders in securities are more concerned with the industrial news than with the effects of a restriction of credit. They believe, not without reason, that an era of record corporate profits is ahead, with or without inflation, and as in 1919 and 1929 they are busy capitalizing a new Golden Age. The one measure which might bring them back to earth would be a drastically increased tax on capital profits. Marriner S. Eccles, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, has again brought forward this proposal, but action depends on Congress. Meanwhile we welcome the news that the New York Stock Exchange is about to undertake a nationwide advertising campaign urging the public to hold their war bonds and exercise the utmost caution in purchasing other securities. Publicity cannot stop the boom, but it may save some amateurs from burning their fingers.

✶

IS THE DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION and news to other countries a proper function of the government? That is a debatable question which will eventually have to be decided by Congress when it is asked to appropriate funds for the State Department's Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs. It is not, however, a decision which ought to be made or influenced by interested private concerns. The Associated Press, by refusing to make its service available for use by the government's shortwave broadcasting system, is prejudging a public issue and usurping the powers of Congress. In announcing its action the A. P., as always, takes a very high-and-mighty line, declaring "that government cannot engage in newscasting without creating the fear of propaganda which necessarily would reflect on the objectivity of the news services from which such newscasts are prepared." We would be more impressed by this statement were we convinced that the Associated Press made a practise of disciplining those of its member newspapers which slant its dispatches by editing and headline writing. In any case, the objection to American government use of its service is a little curious considering that one of the agency's customers is Tass, the Russian government news agency. Does this mean that the A. P. directors are more certain of the objectivity of the Soviet government than of that of their own? Or is this difference in attitude due to the fact that Tass is a cash customer? We would have more respect for the A. P. if it had based its refusal of news to the State Department on frankly commercial grounds. Regarding news as a branded, salable commodity, it naturally objects to the government's free distribution of American news as unfair competition. But, of course, open adoption of this argument would conflict with the A. P.'s carefully fostered myth that it is a public service with no financial ax to grind.

It Has Happened Here

WITH irony and force and a candor seldom found in official quarters Assistant Secretary of State Braden continues his almost single-handed fight against the spread of fascism in the Americas. His speech last Saturday at the University Club in New York touched upon the central weakness which in too many critical periods has characterized the policy of the department he serves. That weakness is not a defined partiality for fascist regimes; rather, it is a passive, acquiescent attitude, based partly on a stubborn refusal to believe that such regimes inevitably threaten the security of the hemisphere and partly on reluctance to intervene in other nations' affairs. Both positions Mr. Braden punctured with sharp words. Fascism, he said, wherever it is allowed to thrive, is "like a gun pointed at our head."

> There are some who say that it is no proper concern of ours if an armed gang seizes power in a foreign country, destroys its civil liberties, denies human rights and regiments the people. They stand on the book of diplomatic etiquette; or they point to imperfection in our own democratic practice; or they scoff at the notion of danger to us. Such persons, wishfully disregarding the plain and terrible lesson that has been administered to the world in the past decade, completely misunderstand the nature of National Socialist ideology.

He insisted, as he has done before, that the United States has the duty as well as the right to take the lead in combating that ideology. And he called on the American republics to band together immediately to counter the threat contained in the existence of a fascist government. This means Argentina, though the Assistant Secretary did not use the name. And his words were a clear

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announcement that the State Department is prepared to stand by its support of Uruguay's plan for multilateral American action against a state guilty of violating human rights or its international obligations.

The hope of winning a majority of the other American republics to this proposal is not at the moment bright. Some are compromised by their own reactionary, dictatorial regimes; some are directly under Argentine influences; some are wary of the very word "intervention" and see the shadow of the big stick in every United States move. The position of Mr. Braden and the handful of Latin American countries that support him would be immensely strengthened if the question were first raised in London. Certainly it should be. The presence of Argentina in the UNO is an anachronism as well as a danger, and many nations now realize it which were merely skeptical at San Francisco when the fight for Perón's admission was led by the predecessors of Mr. Byrnes and Mr. Braden. One of these nations should ask for the suspension or expulsion of a state which has so openly violated its commitments under the UNO charter. According to justice and logic the United States ought to take the lead in rectifying the error for which it bears the chief responsibility. But it is hard to imagine that Mr. Stettinius, who spoke solemn words in defense of Argentina at San Francisco, would accept this view. And even political strategy suggests that another government might make the proposal with better effect. If this were done—even though a final decision were postponed until after the American republics meet in the spring—the chances of united action on this side of the Atlantic would be multiplied.

The Nation Associates has addressed to the United Nations Assembly a memorandum requesting such action. Recalling the commitments made by Argentina when it signed the Chapultapec agreement—on the basis of which its admission to the UNO was obtained—the memorandum shows point by point how the present regime has violated its signed pledge and stands exposed as a satellite of the defeated Axis and a threat to the peace. The document also shows with what precision Perón has duplicated the program of the European fascist states on which his own is modeled.

Next week *The Nation* will publish this memorandum as a supplement. We hope it will lead to effective action by American progressive groups in support of the policy of collective security and anti-fascist unity in the Americas so ably expounded by Mr. Braden. If our government is now, as he says, firmly "determined that no complacency on our part shall allow a new growth of fascism in this hemisphere," it deserves the full understanding and energetic backing of the people. That it has not yet won them is indicated by the attitude of suspicion or open hostility which the Senate has adopted toward Mr. Braden's forthright recommendations. Obviously, even the war has not wiped out the laissez faire, do-nothing psychology that led the democratic world into it. We still have a fight on our hands.

They're Off!

UNABLE to hold themselves in check until the President could report on the state of the union, the nation's Congressional representatives spent the first week of the new session in feverish attempts to clamp a bridle on organized labor. The sentiment seemed to be that now was the time; if they didn't act at once, the situation might improve and their best chance would be gone.

It is entirely possible, of course, for Congress to pass a sound and constitutional law that will smooth relations between capital and labor, reduce to a minimum the need for using the strike weapon, and usher in an era of industrial peace that will make the angels sing. We would go all out for such a measure, holding labor no more than business to be above the law. But we know of no such proposal and have yet to hear one offered on the floor of Congress.

Among the representatives of the people who have been trampling one another underfoot to drop their respective labor-control bills into the hopper, two types stand out. First and loudest are those congenital union-baiters who see in the present wave of strikes a heaven-sent opportunity to break the back of organized labor, and if possible repeal the whole New Deal. Mr. Rankin typified this statesman-like approach when he blamed Congress for "the threat of communism in this country" and called for repeal of the Wagner Act and the law affecting wages and hours. Then there are those men of good-will, like Presidetnt Truman himself, who think to head off a vicious law by a mild one, however pointless.

As long as the present strike-heated atmosphere prevails, we believe that no law is the best law. When the strikes have run their course, as they will, there will be time enough to review the problem—sanely and without the fierce pressures of a prevailing crisis. This is the gist of the advice given to the Senate Education and Labor Committee by its two most authoritative witnesses, William H. Davis and William M. Leiserson, both distinguished veterans of the War Labor Board.

In the circumstances the Leiserson-Davis counsels would probably not have prevailed over the hot urge to smash labor while the opportunity lasts, but in the Senate this compulsion has given way to a more pressing, and even lower, consideration. Just as the movement to pass some kind of labor bill began gathering momentum, Senator Chavez of New Mexico arose to move that the Senate take up at once the bill for a permanent Fair

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Employment Practices Commission, to prevent racial and religious discrimination in industry. Southern Democrats were outraged. Here was something plainly more devastating than strikes.

Adoption of the motion was the signal for a filibuster. Overton of Louisiana announced that the Senate's reconversion program was "stopped in its tracks indefinitely." Bilbo served notice of his intention to "speak twice on the measure—for thirty days each time." His colleague, Senator Eastland, warned simply that "the foundation is being laid in Congress for another Congress—when the clouds of racial antagonism become thicker—to create a German system." And the more respectable George of Georgia invoked the help of God for the Democratic Party in 1946 and 1948 "if this is all that Harry Truman has to offer." This small band of men, fresh from demanding a curb on labor for the sake of speeding the country's reconversion, lost no time in calling a strike against the Senate. No cooling-off period for them!

It was not a pretty picture, even as Congressional pictures go. But before concluding that it accurately reflected the sentiments of the folks at home, it is well to note that the Chavez motion to debate the FEPC carried by a vote of forty-nine to seventeen; and to note, too, that the Senate's Education and Labor Committee refused to be stampeded into rushing labor legislation to the floor. "These labor controversies are going to blow over some day," said its chairman, Senator Murray of Montana, "and then it will be possible to draft and pass constructive legislation." There are a number of Murrays in the Senate, even though their voices may be drowned out in the days ahead by the filibustering babble of the Bilbos.

Salute to Symington

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, January 21

THE liberal crowd in Washington was very dubious when President Truman last June nominated W. Stuart Symington to head the Surplus Property Board. Symington was another of those Missourians, with—at the time—no visible qualifications for the job. He was a St. Louis manufacturer. He was a son-in-law of Congressman James Wadsworth of New York. He was something of a socialite, a member of a wealthy Amherst family. He did not look at all like the kind of man who might use government-owned war plants to break log jams in key monopolistic industries. That doughty old foe of monopoly, Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming, began an investigation. It was found that Symington had once been president of an obscure company obscurely convicted of violating anti-trust laws. No one quite knew what Vehicular Parking, Ltd., the wicked company, had done, but it seemed happily to confirm everybody's worst suspicions. Big business had taken over the Surplus Property administration. We sons of light have been known to jump to conclusions. This was one of those occasions when some very sweeping deductions were made from some very inadequate evidence.

Symington has won a resounding victory over one of the toughest troglodytes of American industry. Last September 21, in his report to Congress on aluminum plants and facilities, Symington told of some of his difficulties with the Aluminum Company of America. The Surplus Property Board was anxious to dispose of certain key aluminum plants in a way which would increase competition in this most monopolistic of all major American industries. Alcoa's position is so powerful that even the government can do little without its cooperation. "Alcoa's attitude," Symington reported, "has been noncommittal." When the RFC asked Alcoa whether it would assist new operators of these plants by letting them see plant records, blueprints, and instructions, Alcoa refused. Alcoa made a counter-proposal. It offered to take over these plants itself if the Surplus Property Board virtually would recommend the calling off of the anti-trust suit still pending against it in the federal courts. The counter-proposal, as cleverly presented by Alcoa, could have been dressed up to impersonate a victory for the government over monopoly. Symington turned it down.

The Surplus Property Administrator worked out a program for the disposal of two key plants to Alcoa's competitor, Reynolds Metals. He found that the greatest obstacle was Alcoa's ownership of certain crucial patents. Without a licence to use these patents it would be impossible for Reynolds to operate the plants economically and efficiently. There were long and painful private negotiations with Alcoa. They culminated last December 17 in a vague offer of "know how" on "reasonable terms" from Arthur V. Davis, chairman of Alcoa. On January 6 Symington made public an acrid letter he had written to Senator O'Mahoney, in which he told the whole story of Alcoa's recalcitrant attitude and accused Alcoa of blocking the government's program by refusing to license its patents to competitors. Four days later Symington called a press conference and proudly announced that Alcoa had agreed not only to license these patents to competitors but to license them royalty free. As a result

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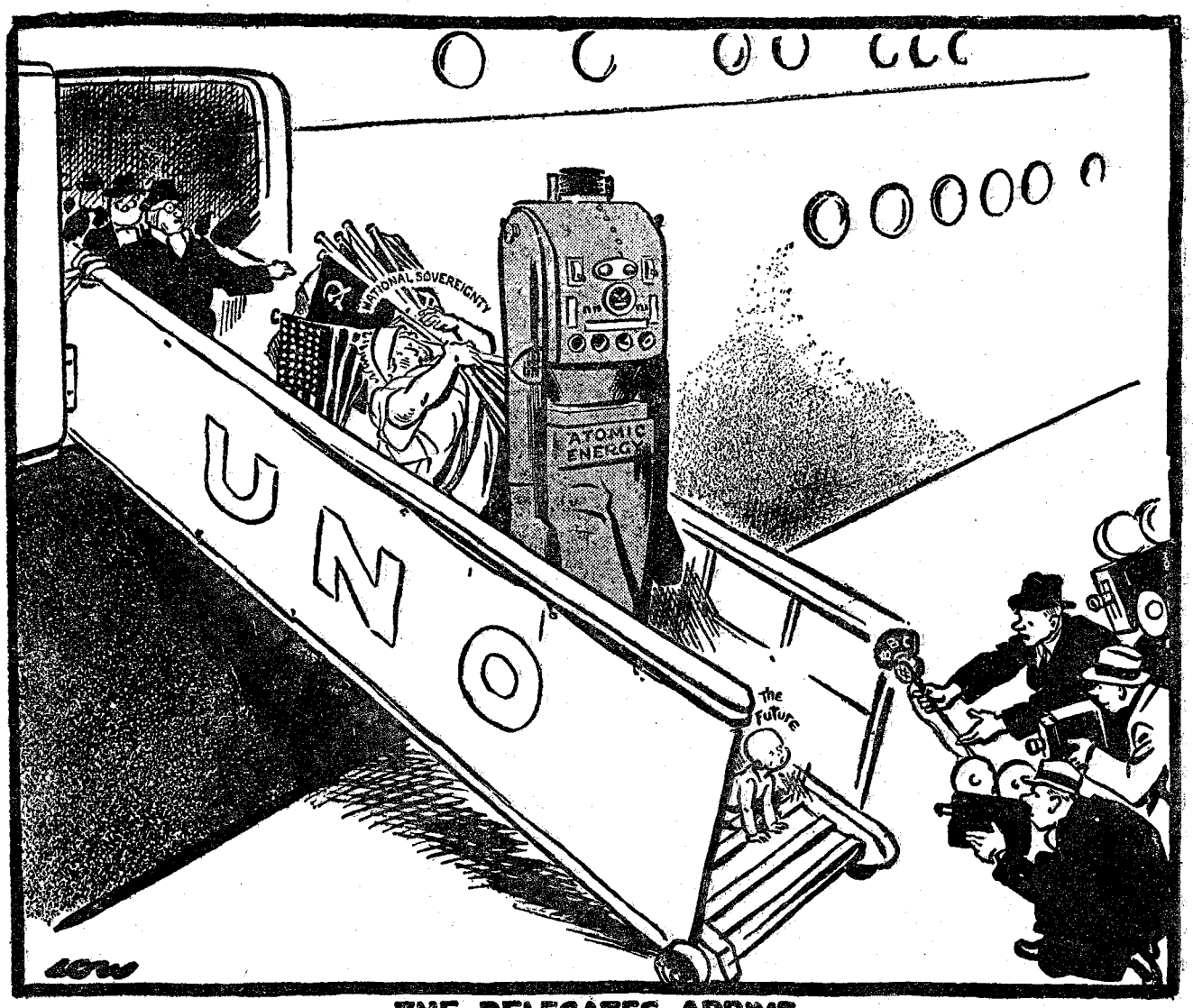
the government was leasing to Reynolds Metals the huge Hurricane Creek plant for turning bauxite into alumina and the Jones Mill plant for smelting alumina into aluminum. No administrative agency had ever won so great a concession from Alcoa.

I do not wish to give a false and exaggerated picture either of Symington or of this Alcoa surrender. Symington is not a crusader. He is pragmatic in his approach and not at all likely to take an anti-monopoly position for its own sake. But he has won the confidence of many of the anti-trust old-timers by taking very seriously the anti-monopoly provisions of the Surplus Property Act, and by demonstrating unusual courage and fighting capacity in carrying them out. Alcoa is very powerful, in politics and in the press. Truman's Attorney General, Tom Clark, is no Thurman Arnold; the easygoing Texan is interested in making friends and influencing people; his attitude toward the anti-trust laws is respectful rather than passionate. It was not the Attorney General who took leadership in this case but the St. Louis manufacturer who had himself once parked his Vehicular Parking, Ltd., too close to the Sherman Act fireplug. In this rather unhappy Truman Administration Symington therefore deserves a salute, if only from your correspondent's popgun.

Nevertheless, it would be unwise to assume that with this victory competition is assured in the aluminum industry. Alcoa still controls about two-thirds of the aluminum output in this country. It is able at any time to flood the United States and drown out competition with aluminum from Canada. There, thanks to the virtual gift of power facilities at Shipshaw, its Siamese-twin corporation can produce aluminum more cheaply than anywhere else on earth. Alcoa's bauxite and power resources are so superior to those of Reynolds Metals that if, some years hence, the government's attention should flag, Alcoa could force Reynolds into line. But the conditions of the Reynolds lease of the Hurricane Creek plant will provide cheap alumina for smaller competitors. The patent offer will make it easier to find other operators for the considerable volume of aluminum facilities still in government hands. Thanks to Symington's efforts, we are closer to assured competition in the aluminum industry than ever before, and a free market in this basic light metal means additional jobs and expansion in a whole range of consumer and capital-goods industries.



THE DELEGATES ARRIVE

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The Ghosts of Geneva

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

The Nation's *London correspondent*

London, January 17

AFTER a week-long overture of organization preliminaries and introductory generalities and after listening to speeches by Attlee, Byrnes, and Bevin, the UNO conference still appears sadly remote from a real world parliament. Observers of the age of your correspondent are possibly overburdened by memories of the failure of a similar experiment, bravely launched in 1919. Westminster's Central Hall is haunted uncomfortably by the ghosts of Geneva. It is therefore salutary to remind oneself that the UNO differs substantially from the League. It is, in the first place, a real world-wide organization and not a predominantly European club with a sprinkling of associate members from overseas; and, secondly, there is this time a more realistic recognition that the responsibility for executive decisions must be proportionate to the nations' ability to implement them by armed power. Nevertheless, the consoling spectacle provided by the presence of the United States and Soviet delegations incompletely allays two unresolved doubts: Can the UNO develop the techniques of a world parliament unless the delegations abandon the present method of voting as national blocks? And will the Assembly ever acquire real influence and responsibility if its role is limited to discussion of the secondary issues allocated to it by the omnipotent triumvirate?

With reference to the first question, Labor opinion here indorses Bevin's emphasis on the importance of the Economic and Social Council. Obviously, the best way to promote the habit of international cooperation is to engage in immediate, practical cooperative work on such problems as food relief, refugees, and physical reconstruction. Mere avoidance of war is a vague and negative objective whose pursuit by the old League was frustrated by the failure to eliminate through international action the economic disequilibria, frictions, and disorders from which the seeds of war upspring. It is encouraging to find among the delegations widespread recognition of the necessity of preventive action before disputes arise. But the question canvassed was whether practical collaboration would not be more likely if the delegations were composed of representatives of political parties nominated by legislatures. Thus composed, the Assembly might develop, on specific practical issues, groupings which transcended national frontiers. The existing composition of the delegations and the voting procedure tend to perpetuate the emphasis on an archaic sovereignty which ultimately wrecked the League.

The second question is equally crucial. Attlee's opening declaration that the UNO must be "an overriding factor in foreign policy" was significantly not echoed by either Soviet or United States spokesmen. Byrnes's warning that it was inadvisable to overburden the UNO at the existing stage of its development or to expect by "overnight magic" to create immediately a world parliament with the Security Council as its Cabinet was appreciated here as realistic and salutary. Undoubtedly, if such major controversial issues as the Russian attitude toward Persia and Turkey were pressed to a showdown by a resolution voted in the Assembly, the disunity of the UNO would be starkly revealed, with probably fatal results. But where does this lead us? The Russian delegation is adhering rigidly to the Moscow thesis that Big Three unity takes precedence over every other consideration, and is evidently inclined to restrict the UNO to a secondary role in world affairs. Opposing this attitude partly because it is Russian and partly because it conflicts with the Labor government's and particularly with Bevin's conception of democracy, the British delegation seems inclined to champion the rights of small nations to have a free voice. The alignment of the United States delegation has not been clarified, but Byrnes is expected to insist on the principle of sovereignty when the issue of trustee mandates in the Pacific is debated.

In the immediate future awkward clashes may probably be circumvented by compromise or the device of postponement. For example, the choice of a Secretary General is meeting a snag in the Russian disinclination to have a prominent world figure invested with such great authority. Disagreement on this question in the Security Council may be averted by the temporary continuation of Gladwyn Jebb in office. Similarly, one perceives an attempt to avoid a head-on collision in the Persian dispute by postponing it until a date is set for the evacuation of the Anglo-Russian forces. But the dilemma created by reluctance to overburden the UNO with unduly explosive questions and the fear that it may be kept a mere impotent spectator of the big powers' private maneuvers cannot be indefinitely avoided. The independence of speech and voting already exercised by minor states in issues not involving cardinal principles is worth little if these delegations are unable to exert any influence on big questions making for peace or war. Already the atmosphere of the Assembly is slightly reminiscent of the League, of which it was said cynically, "It touched nothing which it did not adjourn."

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Wanted: a Plan for Germany

BY VERA MICHELES DEAN

Research director of the Foreign Policy Association and author of "The Four Cornerstones of Peace"

AMERICAN policy toward Germany, never clearly defined, has been further beclouded since V-E Day by a wide range of conflicting considerations. Among these are the natural desire of our people, in no way checked by the President or Congress, for rapid demobilization; fear of Russia's domination of the Continent, including Germany; reluctance to apply to the Germans measures of expropriation and control that contravene our concept of "free private enterprise"; and distrust of those political groups, in both liberated and enemy countries, which many Americans label "leftist" or "radical." American and civilian officials who are striving to apply the Potsdam directives in Germany can legitimately be questioned and criticized about details of their administration, but very little progress can be made toward improving the situation in the American zone, or in Germany as a whole, until our objectives in Europe have been clarified at top levels in Washington. Does the United States intend to participate in the four-power control of Germany as long as this may prove to be necessary—and no one can say today whether that will be five years or fifty years—or are we hoping to withdraw from Germany at the earliest possible moment? Our failure to answer this key question by an official statement of policy keeps not only Germany but all Europe in turmoil.

Though this country has avoided commitments on political matters, it did to some extent clarify the economic prospects for Germany on December 11, when Secretary of State Byrnes issued a statement and the State Department a declaration on German economy and reparations. These two documents, however, give the impression that the United States contemplates termination of all but "residual controls" by 1948, when the German economy will presumably be free to develop as best it can within the limitations imposed on it by the Potsdam settlement.

That settlement, it will be recalled, assigned some of Germany's richest agrarian areas in the east—estimated to have produced 25 per cent of German foodstuffs before 1939—to Poland and Russia, subject to final delimitation later; transferred the Silesian coal mines to the control of Poland; and stated that Germany's standard of living should be no higher than that of its neighbors, excluding Britain and Russia. The Potsdam settlement also provided for the payment of reparations by Germany, not by the transfer of cash, as in 1919, but by the transfer of plants and machinery to the United Nations and the seizure by the Allies of Germany's external assets.

There is no disagreement among the four occupying powers concerning the desirability of disarming Germany industrially by the destruction, or the transfer on account of reparations, of plants manufacturing articles unmistakably used for war—that is, all kinds of weapons, airplanes, submarines, synthetic rubber, and synthetic oil. The area of disagreement begins when it must be decided what other industries are not needed for Germany's peace-time economy and can therefore be removed for reparations, and what industries should be destroyed because of their convertibility to war purposes.

We have all learned that peace-time factories can be rapidly converted to war production by a technically proficient labor force under skilled management. Yet only a small group of persons in the United States have supported the drastic Morgenthau plan for de-industrialization of Germany, and none of the United Nations, even those whose economies were most seriously damaged by the Germans, have proposed to deprive Germany of all its industries solely on the ground that they might eventually be used for war purposes. At the same time it becomes increasingly clear that if a viable economy is to be reconstituted in Germany under the conditions imposed by the Potsdam settlement, a thoroughgoing reorientation of German production must be carried out, preferably by the Germans themselves. In fact, if the United States plans to withdraw all but "residual controls" by 1948, it is the Germans who must as soon as possible take the main responsibility for reorganization of their economy.

The shocking physical destruction that meets one's eyes in all Germany's industrial centers has led some observers to jump to the conclusion that we need not fear the military resurgence of the Reich for years to come. The fact is, however, that while many factories —but far more homes—have been smashed, a remarkably large proportion of Germany's productive facilities could be promptly restored, especially given the technical proficiency of German workers. With this situation in mind, the now liquidated Foreign Economic Administration, in its voluminous report to the Kilgore committee, declared that to prevent future German rearmament, the economy of Germany should be thoroughly reorganized. Heavy industry, whose over-expansion for war purposes had long unbalanced the country's economic life, should be drastically reduced, and capital and man-power should

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be diverted to the production of consumers' goods, the need for which had been sharply increased by the destruction of homes and their contents. At the same time, the report said, the Germans should be urged to convert the large estates, which had been devoted to the often uneconomic raising of grain crops protected by high tariffs, to intensive agricultural enterprises like dairying. Such a readjustment, the FEA report contended, would not only deprive Germany of the industrial base for military power but would eventually make possible a standard of living which might prove higher than the standard achieved when the German economy was geared primarily to war production.

The often repeated argument that reduction of German heavy industry would retard the recovery of the liberated countries, which in the past imported tools and manufactured goods from the Reich, is not regarded by the FEA observers as sound. It is true that German exports were in many ways beneficial to the countries of Europe, but investigation of the inner workings of the I. G. Farben industrial empire and of other German-dominated cartels offers conclusive evidence that German exports were used by the Nazis as a weapon for economic penetration into countries they intended to rule politically, and that German industry both inspired and abetted the military expansionist plans of the Nazi leaders and the *Wehrmacht*. Germany's customers may miss for a time the manufactured products they used to import from the Reich. But this loss will be small compared to the security from aggression that they may gain through the limitation of German heavy industry.

To replace German exports two things will have to be done. First, Germany's former customers must readjust their own economies, probably decreasing their agricultural exports and expanding their industrial production, as is already contemplated in Holland. Second, the United States and Britain must study ways and means of furnishing tools and manufactured goods to the liberated countries of a quality—and what is even more important, at a price—comparable to the quality and price of goods previously sold by the Germans. The Western powers must also consider the possibility of aiding the liberated countries to modernize and expand their industries through loans and long-term credits. Such aid is envisaged in the State Department declaration of December 11, which gives welcome stress to the need of helping Germany's victims to rebuild ahead of Germany. In addition, the United States must learn to import some of the goods produced by our war-time Allies—and eventually by our war-time enemies as well. Otherwise, obviously, the countries of Europe will be unable to purchase the products of our war-expanded industries or to repay our loans or credits.

Reorientation of the German economy on a national scale will require the establishment of central German administrative organs for industry, trade, finance, and other economic activities, as provided at Potsdam. The creation of these central organs has been opposed by France, which wants first to obtain a settlement of Germany's western border comparable to that made by the Big Three in the east. France proposes that the Ruhr—Germany's principal source of coal now that the Silesian mines have been assigned to Poland—should be excluded from the central administration and placed under the control of an international commission which would allocate Ruhr coal to Germany as well as to other countries, and thereby exercise control (could it be called "residual"?) over Germany's industrial development. It also proposes that the Rhineland be divided into four districts to be administered by France, Britain, Holland, and Belgium.

The United States has so far opposed France's suggestions, being reluctant to permit further partition of German territory. But if this country intends to withdraw from Germany in a relatively short time, then it is not in a position to object to France's plans for safeguarding its security in the West any more than it can legitimately oppose any steps Russia feels it must take in Eastern Europe. If the United States dislikes France's policy or fears Russia's, it has no alternative but to remain in Europe and do its part in establishing security on that continent, a security which, as two wars should have proved, is inextricably linked to our own.

But no thoroughgoing reorganization of Germany's economy will be effected by men whose economic interests would thereby be jeopardized. The United States cannot expect German manufacturers to shut down heavy industries and turn to light industries, or owners of large estates to break them up and distribute them among small farmers who might undertake dairying or some other intensive form of agriculture. Nor will the elimination of Nazis from positions of authority, no matter how meticulously carried out, of itself alter the character of German society. The inescapable conclusion is that if the United States wants a reorientation of German production it will have to enlist the aid of those political groups which are not afraid of far-reaching social and economic reforms—and the strongest of these groups in Germany today is formed by the Social Democrats. The United States should back these groups, not for reasons of ideology or sentiment, but for the purely practical reason that they are the only ones which

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have shown a genuine desire to cooperate in a new Germany. Americans who fear Soviet Russia's influence in Germany, and on the Continent as a whole, should realize that unless necessary social and economic reforms are carried out now, with the approval of the Allies, it is possible that the Germans, and other peoples, may see no alternative to communism, however little enthusiasm they may have for the system developed in Russia.

Most important of all, we must understand that it will not be enough to deprive the Germans of armaments, or the capacity to produce armaments. It is essential that they should rid themselves of the will to make war, a will that, when the need arises, can transform plowshares into swords or rocket bombs. The will to war cannot be uprooted unless we ourselves give Germany, and the rest of the world, convincing evidence that we do not intend to follow the example of our enemies; that we will not allow narrow nationalism to shape our trade policies, or shut out immigrants from other lands, or thwart our efforts at cooperation with other nations; that we will not try to keep the secret of the atomic bomb or of other weapons from the rest of the world and thus encourage another armaments race, whose stake would be the survival of mankind. Together with our allies we have done a remarkable job in defeating our enemies on the field. Our task now is to defeat within ourselves the evil impulses and hollow fears which could rob us of the hard-won fruits of victory.

Philippine Aftermath

BY MILDRED ADAMS

Journalist and critic with a special interest in Hispanic American affairs

II. Friend or Enemy

PRESIDENT SERGIO OSMENA, now back in the Philippines, has produced a local definition of collaborator. To the Presidential mind a collaborator is "one taking part in the execution of the policy of the enemy." Señor Osmeña does not mean, he explains, that every Filipino who held office under the Japanese did so willingly or was thereby disloyal. He seems to accept the contention that apparent collaboration might have been in fact an act of patriotism. But he believes that people "who by their acts placed themselves in positions of responsibility" under the Japanese should not hold office in the new Philippine government, due to be elected April 30, 1946.

The President's definition may help to clear up a situation which has become grave and puzzling since liberation. In the Philippines the leading public men have been involved in collaboration with the enemy. In jail or out, they are not going to give up their public reputation and position easily. Some of them have already announced their candidacy for office in the coming elections. Under such circumstances President Osmeña's definition becomes in a sense a campaign pronouncement. If applied literally it will remove from the scene his own most dangerous rival and many of the islands' most experienced politicians. If it is not applied, the United States is likely, on Independence Day, 1946, to find itself in the position of turning the islands over to the very officials who during the war helped our enemies.

The American position is, on the face of it, clear. President Truman has said that collaborators must be punished and has directed the Attorney General to proceed accordingly. But the underlying situation is so confused that it makes the problem of judging and punishing European collaborators look like mere kindergarten work. The main factors in the confusion are the political divisions before and during the war, the caliber of the politicians, the position of America as an occupying nation, and last but not least the pressure of time.

It should be remembered that in November, 1941, the Filipinos held a national election at which Quezon was reelected and a new legislature chosen. Before the legislators had a chance to meet or Quezon could reform his Cabinet, the Japanese struck. Not until June, 1945, when the Japanese had been driven out, did the legislature then elected convene. Meanwhile, however, during at least part of the three and a half years of Japanese occupation a puppet legislature composed to some extent of the same men had been meeting and passing laws. It was that legislature which in October, 1943, chose José Laurel to be "President-elect of the future Republic of the Philippines" by a vote which the Tokyo radio reported to be unanimous. And it is in substance this same legislature, minus men killed in battle, minus flamboyant collaborators arrested by the United States army, and plus members who had been out of the country or had been fighting the Japanese, which is the actual law-making body in the islands today.

Major Pedro López, elected representative from Cebu in the 1941 elections and one of the men who chose to flee to the hills and work with the guerrillas rather than to act for the Japanese as Governor of Cebu, made a speech to his fellow-legislators on June 21 of this year calling attention to these facts. "When I was in the United States," he said, "I had the impression that all

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the ranking policy-making puppets and collaborators, the symbols of Japanese power in the Philippines, had already been removed from 'authority and influence' over our 'political and economic life' pursuant to the Presidential directive. Imagine what a shock I had upon seeing a few days ago the following item in the *Philippine Press* for June 10." He then read, "In yesterday's issue the *Philippine Press* revealed that nineteen Representatives and eight Senators of the seventy Representatives and fifteen Senators known to be alive in liberated areas had held office under the Japanese puppet government. In response to numerous public inquiries we publish herewith, without comment, the names of those individuals and the positions they held." The list of the men with their positions followed.

No clear account of the conduct of these men has yet been reconstructed; the daily records of government under the occupation are said to have been destroyed. Four of them were absolved by Japanese arrest. But it seems clear that the Japanese governed the islands with much of the personnel which had been previously in office and which apparently intends to continue in office. From the surrender of Manila until October, 1943, a Philippine Executive Commission headed by Jorge Vargas carried on interim government. In 1943 the so-called National Service Association (*Kalipabi*) sponsored by the Japanese—it is now being groomed as the local fascist party—met in convention and was intrusted with naming a Preparatory Commission for Philippine Independence to be composed of twenty members. This commission was headed by José Laurel and included Chief Justice José Yulo of the Supreme Court and three former justices. Laurel was soon named to the Presidency of the "Future Republic of the Philippines," and in January, 1944, he chose his first Cabinet. This "republican" government ruled the islands under the tutelage of Japan until the summer of 1945.

Before President Quezon was brought to the United States in 1942, he named Jorge Vargas, his trusted aide, Secretary of the Interior and placed him in charge of the Cabinet which was to carry on in the President's absence. Vargas became mayor of Manila a month later, then chairman of the Philippine Executive Commission —and eventually ambassador to Japan! He was quoted by a reporter who saw him in September, 1945, as saying, "Practically everybody has been a collaborationist in the Philippines to help his countrymen to survive. What difference does it make whether you went out and fought the Japanese or got along with them—so long as either way you helped your countrymen?"

It is commonly assumed in this country that men like Vargas are the Philippine counterparts of Quisling and should be treated accordingly. That assumption needs scrutiny. Let us take the case of Manuel Roxas, now president of the Senate and Osmeña's opponent in the coming elections. Roxas has frequently been described as the most controversial figure in the Philippines. During the occupation he was not only head of the puppet Senate but in charge of the Philippine Economic Development Board for the Laurel government. Yet as a lieutenant colonel in the army reserve he had been made aide to General MacArthur in 1941 and had helped in the General's escape from Corregidor. After the fall of the fortress he had held out with the guerrillas on Mindanao for more than a year. Ten years earlier he was in the United States with Osmeña as head of the Ninth Independence Mission—the "Osrox" mission—and worked out with our Congress the details of the Hawes-Hare-Cutting act, which Hoover vetoed. He was one of the drafters of the Commonwealth Constitution of 1935, and became speaker of the House and Secretary of Finance. He is conceded to be the "strong man" of the islands.

Manuel Roxas

Less well known than Roxas in the United States, José Laurel was famous in his homeland as statesman, author, and jurist. He was educated in this country and was an honor student at Yale Law School. In the Philippines he became successively Senator, Secretary of the Interior, and member of the Supreme Court, and then, in October, 1943, "President-elect."

Laurel's Cabinet contained, in January, 1944, nine posts, of which two—Home Affairs and Economic Affairs —were held by Laurel himself. Rafael Alunan, who had been Secretary of the Interior in Quezon's Cabinet three years earlier, was Secretary of Agriculture and Natural Resources. Teófilo Sisón, Quezon's Minister of National Defense in 1941 and before that Secretary of the Interior, was Minister of Justice. Laurel's Minister of Finance was Antonio de las Alas, a former member of both the Murphy and the Quezon government. The Minister of Public Works and Communications was Quintín Paredes, first Resident Commissioner of the Philippines to the United States. Another Philippine Resident Commissioner, Camilo Osias, became Laurel's Minister of Education. His Minister of Foreign Affairs was Claro P. Recto, president of the Philippine Constitution convention of 1935 and a Supreme Court justice.

Did such men become traitors under Japanese pressure? Or were they thinking only of their own profit? Or did they really believe that they could serve their

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country best by working with Japan? Filipino opinion seems to be divided. Some persons charge that the common people were betrayed by the ruling class, and others feel that the politicians did the best they could under very hard circumstances. Among the former are various guerrilla leaders, men who served in the American or Filipino armies and whose property was therefore confiscated, and the left-wing groups and agrarian leaders who are agitating for land reform. Those who identify their own interests with those of the ruling group think that Laurel, Roxas, Vargas, and the others mitigated Japanese oppression by their skill in bargaining and their apparent compliance. They say that Laurel prevented the conscription of Filipino youth by threatening to resign, and that lesser officials, by remaining in office, protected their people from the rigors of Japanese rule.

People who know the Filipinos well explain the divergence of views partly by the islands' history. Spain occupied them for 377 years, the United States for 43 years, Japan for 3½ years, and now the United States is back again. In each period there were people who collaborated and people who resisted. But always life had to go on, crops had to be gathered, children fed. Is it any wonder, this explanation runs, that Filipinos have developed a capacity to adapt themselves to whatever power is in control or that they find the line between patriotism and collaboration a bit vague?

Americans may be certain that those who worked with us are patriots and those who worked against us are traitors. "But," say certain Filipinos, "traitors to whom? To the United States, yes, but the United States is not the Philippines. The Americans took the Philippines by force; now they are getting out, and it behooves us to look to our interests, which are not necessarily theirs." The official position, of course, identifies Filipino and American interests. Collaborators have been declared the concern of both governments. The United States army carried on a wide investigation when MacArthur came back, and trials are now proceeding under the Commonwealth. But of the collaborators mentioned above only Laurel is under arrest, and it is doubtful whether even he will be brought to trial.

Meanwhile time presses. The elections are scheduled for April. Osmeña and the men charged with collaboration belong to the same party, have been political friends, or enemies, for years as the tide of power has swung back and forth. Osmeña has no means of testing the opinion of his people before the elections. He was prevented from naming two prominent guerrilla leaders—Confesor and Kabili—to his Cabinet by the collaborators still in the legislature. He cannot depend on a Supreme Court whose Chief Justice is charged with getting on nicely with Japan.

The situation is thoroughly unsatisfactory from every point of view except that of the men who collaborated with Japan under the guise of patriotic action, and who now seem in a fair way not only to escape punishment but to take over the political control of the islands within six short months. Unless some solution is found, independence will dawn under gloomy skies, and the vaunted American experiment in colonial government will end "not with a bang but a whimper," leaving behind it problems so grave that they will challenge America's pride in that experiment.

[*This is the second of a series of articles by Miss Adams on the problems of the Philippines.*]

Memo on the Mormons

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Salt Lake City, January 2

TO AN outsider Utah is a political puzzle. Though it has little industry and a weak and undeveloped labor movement; the state remained safely in the column of the Democratic Party during the Roosevelt years. Neighboring states—Idaho, Colorado, and Nevada—have been unpredictable, but Utah, with a pre-war population of about 500,000, has been a Democratic stronghold in the intermountain region. Currently Utah is represented in the Senate by two outstanding New Dealers, Elbert Thomas and Abe Murdock; in the November, 1944, election Senator Thomas was reelected by a handsome majority, running ahead of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

How did Utah come to send such progressive men to the United States Senate and to elect to the state Supreme Court an outstanding liberal like Chief Justice James Wolfe? The subject interested me, for the political thought of the state is not, *per se*, particularly liberal or progressive. After questioning seasoned political observers in Ogden, Salt Lake City, and Provo I came to the conclusion that Utah's progressive political behavior in the last dozen years may be explained by what these men all politely refer to as "the ecclesiastical situation."

In rural areas the population of Utah is about 80 per cent Mormon; in Salt Lake City it is about 40 per cent Mormon and in Ogden perhaps 30 per cent. At present the two United States Senators, the two Representatives, and the Governor are all members of the Mormon church—with their Mormonism running the gamut from strict orthodoxy to what is called "political Mormonism," that is, a nominal adherence to the tenets of the church. One might assume, then, that the Mormon church dominates the politics of the state; and so it does, but in a curiously reverse fashion.

In the 1944 election, as in other Roosevelt campaigns,

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the church as represented by the omnipotent Twelve Apostles was bitterly anti-New Deal and anti-Roosevelt. Under the leadership of J. Reuben Clark it made every effort to swing Utah back into the Republican column, which meant back to the conditions prevailing under Senator Reed Smoot. Full-page advertisements in the church-owned *Deseret News* attacked Senator Thomas as a "Communist" and urged his defeat. Nevertheless, the Senator scored an impressive victory—which suggests that the secret of success in Utah politics consists in arousing the active opposition of the Mormon hierarchy; the rank and file resent the leaders' interference in political affairs and vote the other way.

This revolt of the Morman congregations against the hierarchy apparently dates from the 1929 depression, when the church came out against the relief program of the New Deal. Editorials and cartoons in the *Deseret News* implied that only the lazy and shiftless would "go on the dole," particularly when the church had well-stocked warehouses for the relief of needy saints. The needy saints, however, showed a clear preference for cash relief over an allotment of cabbages, potatoes, and carrots from the warehouses. Moreover, rank-and-file Mormons noted that the church seemed quite willing to accept tithes paid out of WPA checks. Membership in the church did not decline, but the saints refused to accept the hierarchy's political dictation.

The people of Utah were fortified in their New Deal leanings by their belief that the state's prosperity required a federal administration committed to extensive development of Western resources and by their resentment against absentee-owned corporations with large holdings in Utah. There is in addition—though the reins of power are tightly held by the self-perpetuating apostles—a tradition of democracy in the church, as well as of cooperation and mutual aid. The present leadership is apparently aware of the disposition of the members to rebel against political dictation and is trying to conciliate them. The new head of the church, George Albert Smith, who is regarded in Utah as a mild liberal, recently extended the olive branch to Senator Thomas.

Utah has had a more homogeneous population than perhaps any other Western state, but since 1941 a number of Japanese Americans have been relocated in Salt Lake City and the surrounding countryside. The number of Negroes in Ogden and Salt Lake City has also slightly increased as a result of the war, and today about 5,000 Negroes live in the two cities. Under the creed of the Mormon church Negroes, while they can attend church services, are ineligible for the priesthood and are regarded as spiritually "beyond the pale," incapable of redemption. In consequence Utah is a Jim Crow state. Even in Ogden and Salt Lake City Negroes are denied service in the downtown cafes, restaurants, and hotels and are segregated in the balconies of the motion-picture theaters. That the discrimination may be traced to the "ecclesiastical situation" is shown by the fact that Japanese Americans, several hundred of whom are members in good standing of the Mormon church and eligible for the priesthood, are not segregated.

Today all Utah is preoccupied with the question of what will happen to the Geneva steel mill at Provo, which was constructed by the United States Steel Corporation and operated by it for the government during the war. Since November 10 the mill has been virtually closed down and the government is calling for sealed bids on the $240,000,000 plant. Henry Kaiser seems out of the picture, and the United States Steel Corporation has disclaimed any interest in Geneva's future and announced plans for enlarging the San Francisco plants of its subsidiary, Columbia Steel. Geneva is a completely modern mill, using the most up-to-date methods and the most expert know-how, and with almost every operation electrically controlled. It seems incredible that this wonderful plant, furnishing employment badly needed in Utah, could be dismantled or permitted to remain idle or to be operated merely on a token basis. There are reports that the state itself might buy and operate the plant, but most of the people I talked with were pessimistic about the outlook.

In the country around Provo the farm units are small, averaging only about fifteen acres, and during the depression most of the farmers were on relief. The emphasis placed on land ownership by the creed of the church has caused the original holdings to be subdivided among many heirs until more people are living on the land than it can profitably support. In such a region, a plant like the Geneva steel mill would be of inestimable benefit. It would furnish, in fact, a solution to the chief economic problem of the area, a fact clearly recognized by the residents.

A long-term trend toward a lessening of the cleavage between Mormons and Gentiles in Utah was accelerated by the war. Thousands of soldiers from other parts of the country were in camps throughout the state, and the Geneva plant and other war industries brought in many people. With the introduction of new elements and new points of view, new business leaders have come to the fore. One of the most interesting is George Hatch, recently elected president of the New Council of American Business. Part owner of the Ogden *Standard-Examiner* and of a chain of radio stations in Utah and Idaho, Hatch will add strength to the progressive cause in Utah politics.

In 1946 Senator Murdock and the state's two Representatives—Walter Granger and J. Will Robinson—will be up for reelection. Senator Murdock is an extremely popular figure and a strong "campaigner." If the church hierarchy again opposes him, he would seem assured of victory. Liberals are disturbed, however, by the possibility that he may accept an appointment to the federal bench. Governor Herbert Maw, a former professor of public speaking at the University of Utah, who was reelected in 1944 by a very close margin—the election was actually in dispute for several months—is not highly regarded by liberal and labor elements. They charge him with having built up a personal political machine and with refusal to cooperate in liberal plans. It is rumored that Governor Maw, conscious of having run far behind the rest of the ticket in 1944, is an applicant for the favor of Mr. Hannegan, seeking either to succeed Secretary Ickes or to obtain some important regional post in the federal bureaucracy. If Senator Murdock should take his name off the ballot, there would be a real danger that the electoral balance which has prevailed since 1932 might be upset. For Utah is liberal by an accident of "the ecclesiastical situation" rather than by studied intention.

[*This is the third of Mr. McWilliams's letters from the Middle West and West.*]

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A Southerner Goes Home

BY J. MITCHELL MORSE
Formerly on the staff of The Nation

Columbia, South Carolina

THERE were several Negroes in our coach as the train left New York, and we wondered whether they would be ordered out when we reached the color line at Washington. They weren't. Three more got on at Richmond. Nobody said anything; there was no unpleasantness. The conductor with the Southern accent who took over at Washington didn't seem to notice that any of his passengers were colored. There was a fifteen-minute wait at Hamlet, North Carolina, and we went into a small stand across the tracks that had a soda fountain and magazines. Only after we were halfway inside did we notice on the lower part of the door the words "For White Only."

Columbia is not a big city, but it has the air and manner of a metropolis. It is the seat of the state university; it has a little theater and a symphony orchestra. There are readers of *The Nation,* the *New Republic,* and the *Partisan Review.* But at the railroad stations, even as in Hamlet, there are signs that say "White" and "Colored"; and the Chamber of Commerce lists among the city's attractions the fact that its population is 99.1 per cent native American and 64.4 per cent white.

The population has increased from 62,000 to 70,000 in the last five years. Just outside the city limits areas which were formerly swamps and sandhills are now thickly settled suburban communities. I said jokingly, "Pretty soon people will be commuting from Horrell Hill"—a lonely crossroads village fifteen miles away. The reply was, "They're doing it already." In this city of private homes, apartment buildings are springing up; a group of formerly vacant lots is now a shopping center; and most of the stores on Main Street have bright new fronts and modern interiors. There are four radio stations; five years ago there was one.

The source of this wealth is the federal government. Columbia is district headquarters for the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida of forty-six federal agencies exclusive of the army, navy, and Selective Service. It is a little Washington.

Plans are being made to establish a number of new factories to process other materials than cotton. Great hopes center in Georgia's coming suit to have the Supreme Court hold the Southern freight-rate differential a violation of the anti-trust act. The differential makes it more expensive to ship a manufactured article from Columbia to New York than from New York to Columbia. Since the North grows no cotton, there is no differential on the raw fiber; if the cotton is spun into thread, the South-to-North freight rate becomes higher than the North-to-South rate; if the thread is woven into cloth, the differential increases; if the cloth is made into shirts, there is a further increase. This has stunted Southern industry and made the South little more than a supplier of raw materials, or, as we say bitterly, a colonial area. There is no doubt here that the Supreme Court will make history by outlawing this arrangement.

The railroads have countered Georgia's suit with the Bulwinkle bill, which would exempt common carriers from the anti-trust act. This bill is a cause of considerable worry here. The South Carolina delegation in Congress is solidly against it, and pressure is being put on Jimmy Byrnes—all South Carolinians call him Jimmy—to "use his influence."

The process of industrialization is going on all over the state: paper, plastics, nylon, chemicals. Some factories are already in production; others are being built. The Santee Cooper hydroelectric development is attracting not only Northern but local capital. "Local capital," indeed, is the rallying cry of the Chamber of Commerce. We welcome the Yankee dollar, but we prefer our own. We really are not fond of Yankees.

One important cause of our dislike is that the Yankees come to exploit the cheap labor we hold out to them. Cheap labor is the only feature of colonialism of which we approve, but it makes us uneasy, and we react emotionally, disliking both the Yankees and their victims. Our labor policies are the most backward in the country, and there is no sign that we intend to improve them. The mechanical cotton-picker will probably, within a decade, displace 80 per cent of the people now engaged in growing cotton. There are those in Columbia who smile with pleasure at the prospect of so many willing workers.

Those who smile are the ones who frown when the talk turns to the progress the Negro has made. There has been much progress in many little ways, but fundamentally the Negro's position has not changed. He is still a pariah. He is better dressed now, he walks with his head up and meets white people with a look of indifference or hostility in place of the former servile smile. That is all to the good. But he still does not enjoy the equal protection of the law, he still is sadly limited in his opportunities for education and employment, and he still is not accorded the ordinary courtesies that betoken recognition of human dignity. His economic condition has improved noticeably in the last five years, but the pavement still ends at the edge of his neighborhoods.

The price of progress is change, and the changes that have taken place in Columbia are not altogether pleasing. Beautiful old Southern mansions have been torn down to make room for filling stations. And our *mores* are changing with our architecture. We have been invaded by barbarians from the North, with no knowledge of our traditions and no regard for our way of life. They are modernizing us, without considering that we may not want to be modernized; and the Lord apparently isn't going to save us. Directly across the street from the biggest church in town is a large sign advertising the state health department's free mobile clinic for venereal disease. And in the expanded county courthouse the Court of Domestic Relations, established in 1944, now hears an average of 100 cases a month. In the old days we didn't have any domestic relations.

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EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Germany's Steel Ration

AFTER prolonged wrangling the Allied Control Council in Berlin has decided to allow Germany to retain a steel production capacity of 7,500,000 tons of ingot steel annually. Maximum annual production, however, is not to exceed 5,800,000 tons, which, according to American experts, means that Germany will have available for domestic consumption and exports (limited to 600,000 tons) some 4,200,000 tons of finished steel. These figures represent a compromise between Soviet proposals for maximum productive capacity of 3,000,000 tons and British suggestions of 10,500,000. They summarily dispose, Drew Middleton writes in the New York *Times*, of any hopes that Germany can or will be reduced to "an agricultural state."

For this reason the decision of the Allied Council is likely to be attacked by publicists who think that the easiest way of losing the peace is to leave Germany any armament-making potential whatsoever. Those who, like myself, have always questioned the wisdom of a policy of drastic de-industrialization will be inclined to criticize the steel allotment as dangerously meager. For the annual output which is to be permitted is approximately the same as what the German steel plants turned out in 1932, when the Reich, in common with every industrial country in the world, was racked by depression and had around six million unemployed. In other words, for a country which must undertake an enormous amount of reconstruction we propose to allow no more steel than it consumed in a year when construction was practically at a standstill. In 1932, for instance, the German railroads used only 366,000 tons of track steel compared with a normal average in the years 1925 to 1929 of about 1,500,000 tons. Today the battered German railroads are a bottleneck for the whole Continental economy, unable to transport from the Ruhr all the coal now being raised there, even though mine output is less than half the pre-war normal. For the sake of Europe the German railroad and canal network must be restored to a state of efficiency, and that task alone will absorb large quantities of steel.

No one proposes, of course, that Germany should be allowed to retain its swollen war-time steel capacity, which reached about 23,000,000 tons. But it seems to me that the Allies could safely leave Germany a steel capacity equal to its production in 1924—around 10,000,000 tons—provided they retain strict control over German supplies of strategic raw materials. Without manganese, nickel, tungsten, molybdenum, and other alloy metals, all of which Germany must import, steel is of little use for armaments.

The Control Council's proposed steel allowance for Germany amounts to about 180 pounds per head per annum, while a ten-million-ton total would mean approximately 300 pounds. This compares with a German average for the years 1924 to 1929 of about 450 pounds and with British and French consumption in 1937, a moderately prosperous year, of some 600 and 380 pounds, respectively. American production in 1940 was equivalent to about 900 pounds per head.

Steel, as we know, is the basis of all modern industry. If supplies of the metal are cut off, all factories will gradually come to a standstill. It follows that if a country's supplies of steel are limited, an immovable ceiling is placed on its total industrial production. That is what makes quantitative control of the steel industry such a very effective straitjacket for German economy. Nevertheless, the strong arguments in favor of freezing German industry at a low point should not blind us to the consequences of the policy.

The most important of these consequences is that a very large fraction of Germany's urban population will become redundant. With steel output restricted to the 1932 level, it is unlikely that other industries will be able to achieve a higher output or support a larger labor force than they did in that year, when, as we have noted, six million workers were unemployed. Taking into account the growth of population since then, including enforced migration from the east, Germany's future surplus of industrial workers may well be still larger.

What is to be done with these six million workers, making with their families perhaps some fifteen million people in all? Mr. Morgenthau and other advocates of German de-industrialization insist that they can be transferred to agricultural employments. They say, correctly, that the German soil has been undercultivated and could support a larger population. But I do not think they have considered sufficiently the economic, political, and sociological problems involved in so wholesale a shift of population from one mode of living to a very different one.

In all industrial countries the drift from the country to the towns has been automatic. In order to reverse the tide, life in the towns will have to become so unattractive that workers will pull up stakes and accept as a better lot the rather slim rewards of subsistence homesteading. I doubt whether this will happen unassisted. It will be necessary for steps to be taken to discourage people from staying in the towns. Urban living standards will have to be forced down. That will mean wage-cutting and limitation of the power of the trade unions, whose revival in Germany we have been encouraging. It will involve the abolition of social-security measures, particularly of any kind of unemployment relief.

We aim at gradually restoring self-government to Germany on a democratic basis, but what German party, dependent on popular suffrage, could carry out a program designed to force unwilling workers to leave their traditional employments? This is the kind of action which only a dictatorship can put through, and since the Allies can hardly allow a German dictator to do the job, they will eventually be forced to solve the problem themselves.

I had meant to discuss in this article some of the probable effects of industrial shrinkage in Germany on the economy of Europe as a whole, but this must be left for another occasion. I can only pose one question without trying to answer it: How will the interests of American, British, French, Belgian, and other workers be affected if the standards of German workers making competitive products are beaten down far below their own? KEITH HUTCHISON

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The People's Front

EVERYONE who knew the old League of Nations at first hand is watching anxiously to see what sort of men will be named to the secretariat of the United Nations Organization. For months a quiet tug-of-war has been going on between the conservatives of the UNO, who would like to see an intelligent but "safe" moderate in the post of General Secretary—say, the Dutch Foreign Minister, Van Kleffens—and the progressives who are pressing for a militant anti-fascist like Masaryk or Lie, the Norwegian. If there must be a compromise, as now seems likely, Pearson, the Canadian ambassador at Washington, would not be a bad choice. At least he would bring to the new organization a flair which never characterized the first secretary of the League, Sir Eric Drummond, now Earl of Perth. The world might be blown to atoms—we hadn't split the atom then—but brave Sir Eric remained unruffled until he had finished reading the "agony column" in the London *Times*. Nor does Pearson bear the slightest resemblance to Drummond's successor, Joseph Avenol of France. When the lists of war criminals were being prepared, I urged in *The Nation* the inclusion of Avenol, accomplice of the fascist aggressors and gravedigger of the League. Today he lives placidly in Switzerland, no doubt hobnobbing with Georges Bonnet, who, I am told, is busy trying to rescue some of the secret funds his Nazi friends deposited abroad.

I am more concerned about the rest of the secretariat, about the men who are going to carry on the day-to-day business of the UNO. It is of crucial importance that tested anti-fascists staff the political departments and the information service. Even the old League had a handful of such men: Dr. Rajchman of Poland, now associated with the UNRRA; Zilliacus, today a Labor member of the British Parliament; Oden of France, and others. Most of them eventually resigned in protest against the reactionary intrigues of Avenol. Together with representatives from the resistance movements and other men with clean records they could form the hard, democratic core of the new secretariat.

The right-wing papers of Mexico, I am happy to learn, have begun to follow *The Nation*. At any rate, judging by the inexhaustible stock of epithets, both Spanish and Mexican, which my name evokes, they have read my recent articles about the Mexican political situation. Of course I could sue them for libel—if Mexico had any libel law. But in thirty years of political controversy it has never occurred to me to waste even a line in reply to a personal attack.

What really infuriated them was my prediction that if counter-revolution breaks out in Mexico Lázaro Cárdenas will come back and take charge of the situation. One paper devoted no less than three editorials to the subject; I shall not identify the paper lest I make it too popular among reactionaries on this side of the border. But it is common knowledge in Mexico that the publication was in the pay of the German embassy throughout the war. The indignation of the Mexican right proves two things: first, they have every intention of striking if they can; and second, they are obsessed by the fear that Cárdenas will get into the fight and destroy their plans.

It is encouraging to see that the left is beginning to take the menace seriously. In 1944, when I revisited Mexico for the first time in many years, my friends seemed to think that I was seeing fascists everywhere; members of the Cabinet assured me that all the talk about sinarquist activities was "greatly exaggerated"—as if the prestige of the country were somehow at stake. Today these same men realize that they are not immune, for fascism is out to recoup its military defeats in Europe and Asia by systematic political action throughout the Americas.

The fascist blow at Mexico is aimed from outside the government; in Argentina it is directed from within. Reports from Buenos Aires indicate that Colonel Perón is in no gambling mood: he may use the recent lockout by employers as a pretext to cancel the elections and seize power outright. Otherwise he will control the elections. Last week he told a group of close friends: "I shall be President on February 24 even if the opposition uses atomic bombs." The Colonel was looking in the wrong direction; it is not the Argentine democrats but his Nazi scientist friends who have poured into the country to continue their atomic experiments.

Meanwhile the government has distributed blackjacks, machine-guns, and every other available weapon to Perón's *descamisados*, who at certain moments are more effective than the police or the army in breaking up popular demonstrations. Not a single technique has been omitted; the parallel with Nazism is exact. From time to time the government arrests some small Nazi to appease Washington, but the key agents are still at large, forming a sort of "kitchen cabinet" around Perón.

Argentina is bound to give the United States more headaches than most American columnists anticipated when they hailed the decision to invite that Axis satellite to San Francisco. Indeed, the problem of the Perón regime may cause another postponement of the Pan-American Conference scheduled to open in Rio in the spring. The position of the United States in Latin America has never been more precarious.

The achievements of Rafael Trujillo, Grand Benefactor and President-Dictator of the Dominican Republic, were briefly summarized on this page four weeks ago. Among other items in the record was the massacre in 1937 of 12,000 or more unarmed Haitian workers. A postscript to the story was contributed the other day by a friend just back from Trujillo City: Recently the Benefactor had a law passed changing the name of Dajabón, the place where the Haitians were butchered, to "Franklin D. Roosevelt." This graceful gesture was abandoned, my friend reported, after representations from the State Department.

DEL VAYO

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

In the Doughface Tradition

LINCOLN THE PRESIDENT: SPRINGFIELD TO GETTYSBURG. By J. G. Randall. Dodd, Mead and Company. Two volumes. $7.50.

THE first two volumes of this new massive biography of Lincoln cover the period from Springfield broadly through Gettysburg, with extensive backward glimpses into the youth and young manhood. Dr. Randall is, of course, one of the most eminent American historians of the Civil War period. His work represents the application of a trained and meticulous scholarly intelligence to a career which, by its symbolic place in the national imagination, has become peculiarly enveloped in non-historical improvements ranging from folklore to forgery.

Randall's standards of "tested and competent evidence" are more exacting than those of any previous Lincoln biographer. The results—as in his critical account of the Anne Rutledge story or of Lincoln's alleged complicity in the firing on Sumter (the Pearl Harbor inquiry of the day)—are lucid and conclusive. So central, indeed, is the analysis of evidence to the virtues of the book that the tedious exercises of collating documents, weighing witnesses, and so on, from which most writers extract only the conclusions for their narrative, form a substantial part of Randall's text.

The unrelenting caution in judgments on the details of Lincoln's life is unfortunately not extended to the larger political issues of the day. Randall adopts the "repressible conflict" view of the war which Avery Craven ably developed in "The Coming of the Civil War" (1942). According to this theory, there were no insoluble political or economic problems between the sections; the war was created by alarmists, propagandists, agitators, warmongers on both sides—in Randall's words, by "vicious forces." War guilt is always a complicated question, but this theory supposes basically that the "vicious forces" could have acted otherwise; that there was no legitimate moral power in the slavery question which might cause men, North and South, to feel that essential values were at stake requiring vigorous defense. Randall's own expressions—describing the Kansas-Nebraska Act, for example, as "a law intended to subordinate the slavery question and hold it in proper proportion"—as well as his evident sympathy with Douglas and Bell, suggest that he conceives of slavery much as Molotov conceived of fascism—not perhaps with enthusiasm but as a matter of taste.

Most advocates of the notion that slavery was worth fighting about have been Northerners; and while revisionists are careful to name both sides in their general indictments their target is more usually the Northern enemy of slavery than the Southern defender. Randall, for example, is fond of a distinction between "moderate men" and "unctuous rebel-haters"—some form of the word "unctuous" is used to characterize anti-slavery men three times in the first twenty-five pages of Volume II. The phrase "Northern men of Southern sentiments," Randall observes, was "said opprobriously . . . as if it were a base thing for a Northern man to work with his Southern fellows." (Here is a formula ready made for some future historian to explain the similarly opprobrious phrase of the nineteen thirties—"appeaser.") "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is "pulp melodrama." His account of Preston Brooks's assault with a heavy cane upon the seated Sumner employs the phrase "Southern 'brutality' " in quotes only and justifies Brooks as "confronting Sumner with all the self-control he could muster." One wonders what might have happened if Brooks had really lost his temper.

A labored defense of McClellan occupies much of Volume II. Lincoln's concern with military strategy is treated as meddling interference, while McClellan's extraordinary Harrison Bar letter, with its ambitious political recommendations, becomes the normal and respectful act of a commanding general. Randall cites McClellan's post-war apologia as if it were a reliable and objective document but rejects his revealing contemporary statements on the curious ground that, since they were in "confidential letters to his wife," they were "not to be taken too seriously." This is coupled with a savage arraignment of the Radicals. "A more unlovely knot of politicians would be hard to find," is Randall's opinion—hardly a measured judgment, especially from a man who can find so many excuses for Preston Brooks, and quite as absurd in its way as the canonization of Thaddeus Stevens fashionable in fellow-traveler circles. Indeed, like so many other of Randall's impulsive generalizations, it is not borne out by the factual evidence which, as a conscientious historian, he cannot refrain from citing.

Randall's portrait of Lincoln is shaped by the insistent desire to show that Lincoln had more in common with the Southern moderate than with the Northern radical. The combination of exact sifting of detail and ill-considered assertion on general issues creates problems of organization which the author does not altogether solve. His style tends to be dogged and repetitious, and the structural framework of the book is constantly reexplained by the author instead of being allowed to explain itself. While more reliable on points of detail than Sandburg's volumes, this biography is less successful on the large problems requiring historical or literary understanding.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

American Solution

THE BALANCE OF TOMORROW: POWER AND FOREIGN POLICY IN THE UNITED STATES. By Robert Strausz-Hupé. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $3.50.

THIS brilliant book is an analysis of the determining factors of foreign policy. It is one of the few solid books ever written on this badly neglected subject, and it should be read by all who have the safety of the United States and the peace of the world at heart.

The author begins with the statement that "initiative in world affairs has been thrust upon the United States." Foreign

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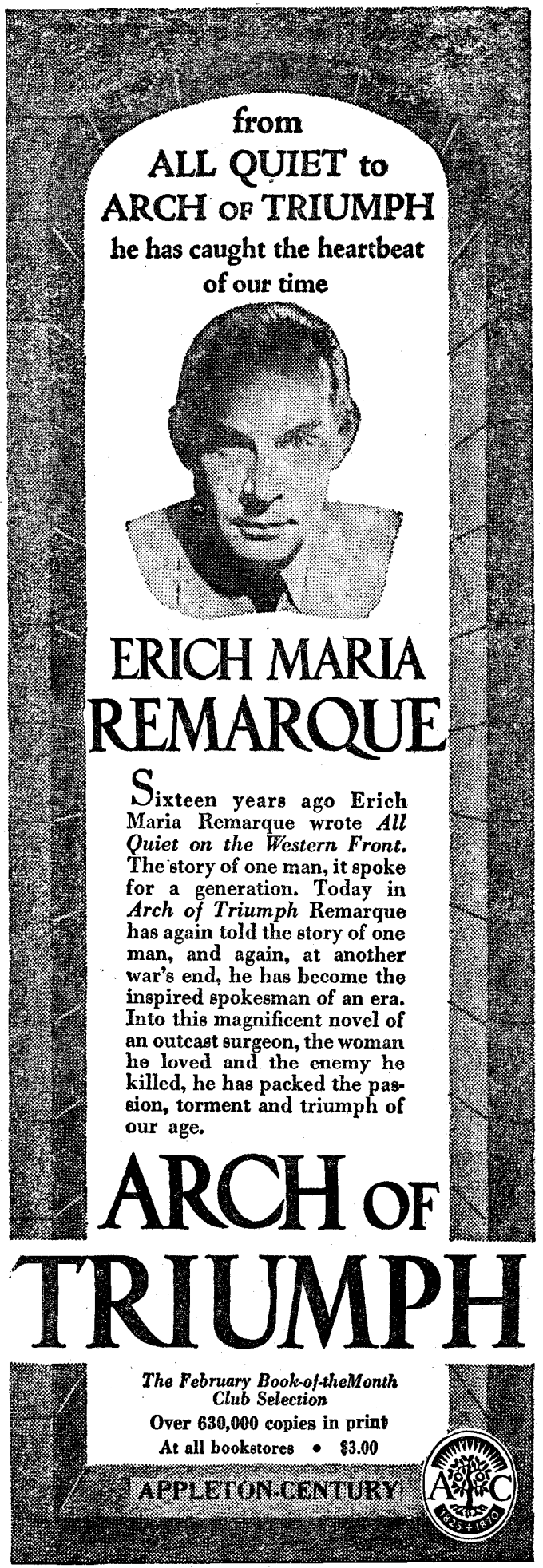
policy is defined as the "art of the possible" and the art of anticipating change. The raw material of foreign policy is power, which consists of material, organizational, and ideological elements. The over-all trends of international power relations may be predicted within a reasonable margin of error, at least in so far as they are predicated upon material strength. The author surveys present and probable future relationships between population, raw materials, industrial production and organization on the one hand, and power and military strength on the other. He gives special attention to the power potentials of such rising countries as Russia, India, and China, and to the remaining power potentials of the defeated Axis nations. The new aspects introduced by atomic fission are discussed in the preface, and they do not, generally speaking, invalidate the importance of traditional elements of power, as they may in the end "merely change them technologically by increasing their destructive efficiency." The author's conclusion is "that the American pile of chips is no longer big enough to play the power game against any and all players."

Mr. Strausz-Hupé's analysis is distinguished from other writings on the subject by his insistence upon the great importance of organizational, intellectual, and volitional elements of national strength. The material elements are subject to decline or increase according to the manner in which they are used. Technology is no less important than manpower or raw materials. A population policy can reinforce or cushion the "natural" trends of population movements. Foreign trade and investments may enhance the power of other countries which are either friendly or inimical to the United States.

The author discusses with relentless logic various implications of impending power-political changes. He enumerates factors which might endanger the maintenance of peace. He views with misgivings the chief provision of the San Francisco Charter that "great-power initiative is to be accepted as the cornerstone of world peace" and points out that medium and small powers can and should play an important role in an international system designed to keep the peace.

Mr. Strausz-Hupé states the alternatives: "The perpetuation of the present system with its characteristic conflicts; the ascendancy of one power to world domination; or the creation of a world federation. The first has been explored uninterruptedly for fifty generations. The second is the world picture projected by *Geopolitik*. . . . The third is federation by consent. It is the American solution." Yet a policy "which nurtures federalism of regional as well as global dimensions and which is consistent with American interests and traditional concepts" is not protected by copyright. "It can be, and has been, borrowed by other powers professing various ideologies." Mr. Strausz-Hupé believes that America can make its greatest contribution to peace and progress if it negotiates from strength and not from weakness. He quotes Franklin D. Roosevelt: "We cannot deny that power is a factor in world politics any more than we can deny its existence as a factor in national politics. But in a democratic world as in a democratic nation power must be linked with responsibility and obliged to defend and justify itself within the framework of the general good."

STEFAN T. POSSONY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The Age of Giolitti

ITALIAN DEMOCRACY IN THE MAKING: THE POLITICAL SCENE IN THE GIOLITTIAN ERA, 1900-1914. By A. William Salomone. Introductory Essay by G. Salvemini. University of Pennsylvania Press. $2.50.

FOR the time being those few Italians who, having enough to eat, can indulge in political thinking, are mildly interested in an autopsy on Fascism. They seem, however, rather more eager to get at the core of the pre-Fascist era, particularly of the decades between 1900 and the First World War, the so-called "age of Giolitti." They know that the foundations of Fascism were laid then, but they wonder, nevertheless, whether some part of the Giolittian heritage cannot be accepted by free Italians today.

What sort of statesman was Giolitti? The political opinions of the two Italians best known in this country, Salvemini and Croce, are at odds on this point as on others. Croce has always been a staunch apologist for Giolitti, whose moderation and shrewdness he finally, under Mussolini, idealized in a vein suggesting a political "Life with Father." Salvemini, at the beginning of this century, was Giolitti's arch-foe, and pilloried him in a famous book, "The Minister of the Underworld." As if this were not enough to confuse the layman, Croce on a recent occasion graciously admitted that Giolitti, after all, was far from perfect; while Salvemini, in a provocative introduction to Mr. Salomone's book, confesses with a sigh that had he to start all over again he would soften the form if not the substance of his enmity to the Old Man. What are we to think?

Let us first look at the record. Giolitti, a skilful politician, was Italian Premier almost uninterruptedly from 1903 to 1914—that is, in the decisive period of growth of the new Italian state. Mr. Salomone's work gives an excellent account of the accomplishments of the Giolittian era—the introduction of universal suffrage and of quite wide freedom of the press, the impressive decrease in illiteracy, the stupendous rise of Italian socialism and unionism, the political début of Catholics and Nationalists, the growth of industry in the north and the tripling of the export trade, the conversion of the national debt, and finally the conquest of Libya. Salvemini, looking back in his introduction to the first fifty years of Italian unity, is right in maintaining that "no country in Europe had made such strides in so short a time." What was wrong then?

The usual case against Giolitti is based on his administrative "methods." He always managed to get into his Parliament a "solid block" from the south by employing corruption, intimidation, and occasional violence. Those Britishers and Americans, however, who smugly complain that Italy "never had a real democracy" are aptly reminded by Salvemini that corruption of the Giolittian brand, and maybe worse, blossoms even in the Anglo-Saxon countries. The real case against Giolitti is probably quite different. No matter what "progress" Italy achieved under him, it is a fact that his long and clever rule froze and perpetuated the original sin of the Italian state. The unification of the country in the 1860's, far from being a democratic revolution, was a "royal conquest": the Peninsula was cleverly annexed to the Piedmontese state. The south in particular was treated, as the mild Don Sturzo once put it, simply "as a colony." The very title of Salvemini's pugnacious weekly, *L'Unità* (1911-1920), meant just this—that an Italy split in two had still to be put together through a democratic revolution. Giolitti's rule strengthened and crowned this state of things. A major, and ominous, success of his policy was to tie the workers of the north to the industrialists and the dynasty in the common exploitation of the backward south—a dubious alliance ironically called "the Socialist monarchy." Protectionism, nationalism, and first a minor then a major war were consequences to be expected.

Mr. Salomone's work is more than praiseworthy for the objectivity with which it gives the reader all the facts, but it somehow refrains from extracting any clear historical meaning. Such perplexity is excusable. In "normal" times a Giolittian—or shall we say, Trumanian?—policy seems to most people permissible, and to some desirable. But apart from the question whether there is such a thing as normality in history, our twentieth century certainly has not been normal—it has been and is literally a "radical" century. Thus clever moderates nowadays are at first mere postponers of problems, and ultimately—but time catches up quickly in our age—gravediggers. At which point a comparatively harmless Giolitti is succeeded by "a frantic Giolitti"—which, in Italian journalism, is the classic definition of Benito Mussolini.

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FICTION IN REVIEW

ANAIS NIN has never been published commercially. She has printed her work herself and distributed it through private channels. Nevertheless, her reputation has spread until she has become, in a small way, a sort of legendary literary figure. Rebecca West is reported to have called her a genius; Henry Miller has made the prophecy that the diary of some sixty-five volumes on which she is engaged will rank with the great monuments of self-revelation, with Augustine, Rousseau, Petronius; one hears of a new literary method, based on psychoanalysis. It was therefore with considerable curiosity that I took up my first sample of Miss Nin's writing, a volume called "This Hunger . . ." which came out recently and which can be obtained from the Gotham Book Mart in New York City.

The volume contains three stories, connected by the fact that each of them is about a gravely maladjusted woman hungering for affection. The first, Hejda, is about an Oriental girl who emerges from her veils to become something of an exhibitionist. The second, Stella, is about a movie star unable to love because of her excessive need to be reassured that she is loved. The third and most complicated, bearing the names of two women, Lillian and Djuna, is mostly about Lillian, a woman of conspicuous energy, confused—so far as I can make out—between her need to protect and her need to be protected.

I refer to the three pieces as stories. Actually, however, while Miss Nin's narratives borrow the manner of fiction, they are much more like case histories than like short fiction of any usual sort. Miss Nin's characters have many of the conventional appurtenances of fictional life: they have been born, presumably they live and will die; they look a certain way; they have friends, money, sexual relationships, even children. But they exist for t' lr author only as the sum of their clinically significant emotional responses; we are made aware only of such activities, physical surroundings, and encounters with other people as Miss Nin conceives to be relevant to their psychic health. Every writer establishes a role for herself in her books, and Miss Nin's role is psychoanalyst to her group of typical women. Her sole concern with her characters—I had almost said patients—is with the formation and expression of their symptoms, and what goes on in the rest of their lives she rigorously ignores. For instance, we are told of Hejda that, having been born in the Orient, her face was veiled through her early years, but we are not told the name of the country of her birth; or, in connection with Lillian, Miss Nin suddenly mentions a husband and children, but because neither husband nor children influence Lillian's emotional development Miss Nin doesn't consider it pertinent to tell us anything about them.

So much abstraction of her characters from the context of their real lives, together with so much specific detail when it suits Miss Nin's purposes to be specific, gives a certain surrealist quality to her stories. But her approach is not properly described as surrealist, since, in the instance of each of her women, Miss Nin is primarily concerned to lay out a case. The method of "This Hunger . . ." is, as I say, the method of clinical history, but with two important differences—one, that Miss Nin relies, for effect, not only on

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her clinical observations and conclusions but also on her literary skill; and two, that whereas it is the intention of the writer of a case history only to add to our clinical knowledge, and if any wider comment is present it is present only by happy accident, it is the first intention of Miss Nin to make a full-sized literary comment upon life.

And yet I find "This Hunger . . ." both less good reading and less enlightening about life in general than many simon-pure case studies. Nor is this because I object —though I do—to the dominant poetical tone of Miss Nin's prose. Nor is it because I reject—though I do—the major implication of Miss Nin's stories: that women are done in more than men are, and largely *by* men, and that since the sufferings of men occasion suffering in women, they should be the objects of our bitter resentment, whereas the sufferings of women must rouse our deepest sympathies. The reason I think "This Hunger . . ." inferior to a good psychoanalytical case record is that its pschoanalysis is not science but pretension.

Now obviously, and all present-day tendencies to the contrary notwithstanding, I do not think that writers of fiction need a technical knowledge of the psychiatric professions. Quite the contrary, a comparison of the novelistic insights into human motivation before Freud and after Freud seems to me to indicate a persistent deterioration in psychological understanding as the post-Freudian novelists have tried to incorporate the findings of psychiatry in their art. But inasmuch as Miss Nin's whole aesthetic is based on the value of her clinical insights, one naturally looks for them to be at least as sound and revealing as those that make up the common stock in trade of the analytical practitioner. If Miss Nin were writing traditional short stories she would employ conventional fictional means—dramatic conflict, evolution of circumstances, etc.—to heighten our experience of life. Having discarded these means, Miss Nin must depend instead on the poetry of literalness and science. Her science must therefore be of a kind to set up good poetic vibrations: it must be good science.

What I mean by saying that good science makes for good poetic overtones can perhaps be illustrated by a sentence recently quoted to me from "The Development of Modern Physics," by Einstein and Infeld. Expounding the rudiments of relativity, these authors write, "A straight line is the simplest and most trivial example of a curve." It is a simple scientific statement. But in the perfection of its simplicity and its scientific accuracy it is also a very beautiful poetic statement. Similarly, a good case history, by staying with simple scientific truth, can be a poetic statement about life. But Miss Nin's case histories, by substituting a conscious poeticizing of their material for the poetry inherent in the literal material itself and by making their observations on a very low, or drawing-room, level of the psychoanalytical science, are neither good clinical practice nor good poetic suggestion.

I have space to give only a single example of Miss Nin's insufficiency—her treatment of Hejda's youthful sadism. On the first page of her first case Miss Nin reports: "Hejda was then a little primitive, whose greatest pleasure consisted in inserting her finger inside pregnant hens and breaking the eggs, or filling frogs with gasoline and setting a lighted

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match to them." This rather sensational activity is never traced to its psychic causes, nor is it connected with later manifestations of Hejda's character. A certain carnivorousness is remarked upon; also, another cruelty she perpetrates upon a school friend. Then, on the last page of Hejda's history, when she has reached the stage where "when everything fails she resorts to lifting her dress and arranging her garters," Miss Nin adds: "She is back . . . to the native original Hejda. . . . The frogs leap away in fear of her again."

Such analytical inadequacy may be the result, of course, only of ignorance. But I am tempted to borrow Miss Nin's own deterministic bias, and diagnose this kind and degree of ignorance as wilful; after all, more information was available to Miss Nin if she desired it. But it would seem that Miss Nin has looked to psychoanalysis only for what would serve the sexual chauvinism and self-pity of the modern female writer of sensibility.

Every so often Miss Nin's writing descends from the delicate feminine heights and indulges in straight commonsense observation of human beings as well as in undecorated prose. Then it indicates that, somewhere in her, Miss Nin has the powers that have always produced good science, good fiction, good poetry. But such deviations are only occasional; so I keep wondering why a book like "This Hunger . . ." could not receive commercial publication in these days when nothing sells like the sick psyche. DIANA TRILLING

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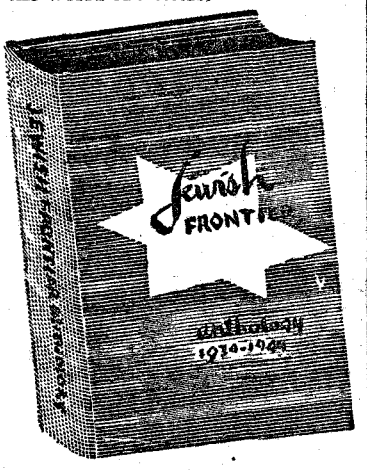

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

BOBBY CLARK is an irresistible force. If, therefore, he comes into contact with an immovable classic, something pretty spectacular is bound to happen. It did on the occasion when he collided with Congreve's "Love for Love" and again when "The Rivals" got in his way. But both of these events took place before the phenomena associated with atom-splitting were understood by that part of the general public which includes drama critics, and the events were not fully comprehended. Now, however, I am in a position to report what happens nightly at the Booth Theater when Mr. Clark performs that experiment in disintegration which the limitations of the critical vocabulary compel us to describe as his "interpretation" of "The Would-Be Gentleman."

When the irresistible force meets the immovable object, neither, of course, can give way. What happens is that the immovable object is transformed into energy. "The Rivals" or "The Would-Be Gentleman" is not simply reduced to rubble as would be the case if an old-fashioned explosive like TNT were used. Instead, it simply ceases to exist. It is transformed into force, and Mr. Clark becomes a sub-atomic particle completely on the loose. It often appears, for instance, that he has been in two or even three places at once, but this, we now know, is not true. It is merely that, like an electron engaged in demonstrating Heisenberg's principle, he gets from one position to another without ever having occupied any of the intervening space and therefore only seems to have been in several places at the same time.

It is no doubt very fortunate that there are not too many performers like Mr. Clark. The classics should be preserved, and every time he appears in one of them I say to myself, "Well, there goes another portion of our cultural heritage." What happened to the Parthenon when the Turkish powder magazine exploded is nothing by comparison with what happens to a dramatic masterpiece when Bobby establishes a chain reaction. But it does make an exciting spectacle, and if Nero could fiddle while Rome burned, if New York could dance while Hiroshima was being transformed into atomic radiation, then I am not going to consult my conscience before giving way to mirth at the spectacle of Mr. Clark having his way with Congreve or Sheridan or Molière.

For the benefit of any readers who desire a less impressionistic account of what is going on at the Booth I had, perhaps, best state briefly that the greatest low-comedy actor whom it has ever been my privilege to see is having the time of his life presenting himself, faintly disguised, as the leading character in a frenetic vaudeville recognizedly based upon one of Molière's best-known satiric farces. It has been publicly stated that Mr. Clark went through all Molière's works and lifted from several of them bits which he thought he could use in the present production. I notice, for instance, that he sings for the benefit of his music teacher the "Stop, Thief!" song which comes from "Les précieuses ridicules." But there are also many additions, some of them very funny, to "The Would-Be Gentleman" which are not, I am sure, from the pen of Molière or even, for that matter, from the pen of anyone else, since, to take an example, one of the most hilarious of them is a positively symphonic sneeze which could hardly be written in French or any other language, though I suppose it might be scored by means of some not yet invented system of musical notation.

Mr. Clark does piously retain the two most famous quotations, the one about speaking prose without knowing it, and the one involving the question, *"Pourquoi toujours les bergères?"* But neither of these would in itself probably attract very many members of the general public into the Booth, and what they will go to see is a magnificent clown using the skeleton outline provided by Molière for purposes of his own.

As it stands, "The Would-Be Gentleman" does not even remain a satire on the new rich, and that is perhaps just as well. Though much of the play as originally written is still valid it is so entangled with seventeenth-century conceptions of what is and what is not proper for a man not born a gentleman that it would be rather difficult to disentangle the part which remains good sense from that part which any modern audience is bound to see as mere snobbery. As a matter of fact, Mr. Clark becomes, not the butt of the piece, but its hero—a fabulous embodiment of self-willed energy whom any audience is bound to love and envy as it does Charlie Chaplin or any other great clown. And for the benefit of the tender-

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minded it might as well be pointed out that Molière himself was originally only a writer of skits for players, even though he managed as he developed to load his farcical divertissements with more and more meaning. Mr. Clark, for his own purposes, merely reduces one of the more elaborate pieces to something a good deal like the sort of thing its author wrote at the beginning of his career, and thus Molière is back where he started from. When you have at your disposal a performer like Mr. Clark it is not at all a bad place to be.

Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

WHAT characterizes painting in the line Manet-Mondrian—as well as poetry from Verlaine through Mallarmé to Apollinaire and Wallace Stevens—is its pastoral mood. It is this that is mistaken for the "classical." And it is away from the pastoral, the preoccupation with nature at rest, human beings at leisure, and art in movement, that so much painting has turned of late. And what it has turned toward is not the "romantic" but the baroque, which Wölfflin (who died in Zurich the other day) has defined as the "open" style par excellence—open to variety and violence of emotion as well as to large and complicated formal rhythms.

Now the pastoral, in modern painting and elsewhere, depends on two interdependent attitudes: the first, a dissatisfaction with the moods prevailing in society's centers of activity; the second, a conviction of the stability of society in one's own time. One flees to the shepherds from the controversies that agitate the market-place. But this flight—which takes place in art—depends inevitably upon a feeling that the society left behind will continue to protect and provide for the fugitive, no matter what differences he may have with it.

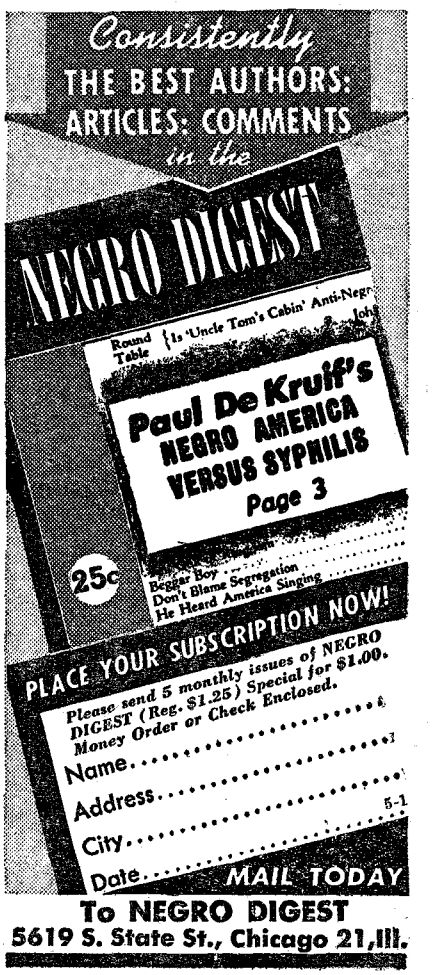
This feeling of pastoral security has become increasingly difficult to maintain in the last two decades. It is the dissipation of this sense of security that makes the survival of modern avant-garde art problematical. The first impulse is to rush back to the market-place and intervene in or report its activities. Here political art, some forms of expressionism, popular surrealism, and neo-romanticism complement one another in their anxiety to relate art to the current crisis of our civilization. What is wrong, however, with surrealism and neo-romanticism in particular is that they stay falsely pastoral in resorting to styles of the past in order to make emotions about the present plain and explicit. Genuinely pastoral art never turns to the past; it simply rejects one present in favor of another—and without escapism. Even today one must look still to avant-garde pastoral art to see revealed the most permanent features of our society's crisis.

It is only lately that the reaction against the pastoral as compelled by current events has begun to manifest itself in art of any real seriousness. The exponents of this seriousness are still few. Significantly enough, among the first of them are such one-time cubists or near-cubists as Picasso and Lipschitz. In common with surrealism and neo-romanticism, their reaction takes the form of the baroque, but it is a more profoundly disquieted baroque, less archaeological, more at odds with itself, and crowded with disparate elements. Thus Picasso's baroque is among other things a kind of neo-cubism, and Lipschitz's an attempted fusion of Bernini's chiaroscuro with expressionism.

Somewhat pertinent in this connection is the exhibition of the recent work of Hyman Bloom at Durlacher Brothers (through February 2). Bloom is attracted to Jewish motifs in his art: Jews with Torah rolls and women who are brides—no motif is more distinctively Jewish than the second of these, the bride being one of the chief personifications of the Sabbath and a favorite likeness in Hebrew poetry. Bloom's expressionism derives from Soutine, Rouault, and perhaps Chagall, but he asserts enough of himself to make his version of the baroque more than a sum of influences. Heavy in paint texture, its color "crushed jewels," with much scarlet, pearl-white, and ochre, his art reveals, however, no fundamentally new capacities of the expressionist style. In four of the thirteen canvases at the present show it attains, nevertheless, a curious quietness that, because it belongs exclusively to art, argues more strongly than the mere violence of feeling exhibited elsewhere. In "The Bride," "Corpse of Elderly Female," "Archaeological Treasure," and "A Pot"—the last two semi-abstract—the concern with agitated, expressive texture and the compulsion to overpaint cede to the necessities of unity, which, significantly, is achieved by design rather than by disposition of color or texture.

I do not think that Bloom's expressionism offers great possibilities for the future; its postulates have by this time become slightly academic. Even in his best pictures they make it too easy for him to reconcile himself, on the score of expressiveness, to superficial execution and gratuitous flourishes. None the less, Bloom's approach is essentially uncompromising, and the chances are that his honesty will force him to transcend his present style with its limitations and fight through to a clarity that will still permit him to say effectively what he as an individual must say and what he as a Jew in the face of recent events may want to say.

With the sculptor David Smith—a selection of whose total *œuvre* as well as all his most recent work is being shown at the Willard and Buchholz Galleries (through January 26)—the new incidence of the baroque with all that is problematical about it becomes fully evident. The work in steel, iron, and aluminum that Smith executed with machine tools between 1936 and 1940 was already strong and original enough—indebted though it was to Brancusi and Giacometti—to make him perhaps the best young sculptor in the country. Like all modern sculpture of any vital-



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ity since Maillol, it stemmed from painting rather than from any tradition of carving or modeling—Negro art excepted—and its virtue was the line, whether in wire-like form or as the contour of a two-dimensional surface. It closed itself around empty space and eschewed the chiaroscuro of monolithic sculpture. The point of departure was usually anecdotal but the result highly abstract. A unity of style was achieved that did not inhibit extravagance but inevitably controlled it—generally toward "geometricity," precision, clarity. In its mixture of force and elegance Smith's sculpture in this period profited from the best that cubism and post-cubism have had to offer to the plastic arts of our immediate period.

A war job narrowed Smith's output to a trickle between 1940 and 1944. In 1944-45, however, he turned out no fewer than thirty new pieces of sculpture in a new, baroque vein answering to the mood inspired by late history. Gone is the relatively simple trajectory of line, interrupted now by almost ornamental multiplications of detail. Gone is the "geometricity"; under the new conception surfaces are broken, modeled, squeezed and incised within the smallest compass. Everything coils back upon itself or else explodes into rococo elaboration. No real unity of style governs here; the general impression is more gothic than baroque, but the elements are disparate. While none of this recent work attains the level of his best earlier sculpture, Smith's gift remains inalienable enough still to produce three or four pieces that will give pause to any newcomer to his art. I hesitate to criticize him. The pastoral tranquillity of his former style is apparently no longer possible, and this phase of extravagance, disorder, and agitation is something he seems compelled to work his way through. It will take him much time to solve the new problems he has proposed to himself, but he at least proposes new problems and refuses to settle for the guaranties of the past.

Robert Motherwell, whose second one-man show is running at the Kootz Gallery (through January 19), is an instance in which the baroque spirit of the times and something very unbaroque clash. In concept Motherwell is on the side of violence, disquiet—but his temperament seems to lack the force and sensuousness to carry the concept, while the means he takes from Picasso and Mondrian are treated too hygienically. The richness and complication of color are applied too deliberately and do not accord with the arbitrary, constricted design. Effects are left floating in air, unattached and unnourished by blood vessels, without organic relation to an artist who had to paint thus and not otherwise. The best of Motherwell's work is in his large collages, but even here one feels that the constituent elements could be rearranged considerably without altering the final invariably anemic effect.

Motherwell's gifts—and he has shown that he possesses them—deserve better exploitation than this. At times in the past he has produced much better work. Yet he has always suffered from a radical unevenness; there have been too many sudden changes of direction, motivated perhaps by an inability to decide what he wants and by conflicting influences. But the essential is to decide what one is, not what one wants.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

ON VICTOR'S January list is one of the outstanding releases of recent years: Haydn's Symphony No. 98, performed by Toscanini with the N. B. C. Symphony (Set 1025; $4.50). Concertgoers know from their program-notes that Haydn wrote twelve symphonies for his two visits to London; but they would not know it from what they hear performed at the concerts; and one of the great London symphonies they don't hear is No. 98, which Toscanini himself performed only once in New York before the performance last spring that is now issued on records.

I use the word "great" to describe what the work communicates—what, for example, is communicated by the gravely, spaciously meditative slow movement. I use it also to describe Haydn's use of the resources of his medium in this communication—in particular the breathtaking surprises in melodic and harmonic progression, in rhythm, in orchestration, that express the exuberant liveliness of his mind in the other movements. I mean things like the changes in sonority and direction when the *Adagio* opening statement of the first movement is repeated, the change in the first *Allegro* theme when it is repeated by the oboe, the further change when it returns after the outburst of the entire orchestra; the change in harmonic direction and extension of phrase when, near the end of the exposition (and of side 1), the quiet statement of the oboe is repeated; the mischievous play with dynamic contrast, rhythm and accent, and instrumental combinations in the minuet movement; and in the finale the loud conclusion of the exposition in F major (near the end of side 6), the silence, then the quiet explosion of a harmonic and stylistic bombshell by the solo violin's casual and graceful entrance in A flat, another loud conclusion on D, and (beginning of side 7) another quiet explosion of a bombshell by the solo violin's entrance in E flat. These are only a few of the details that occur in constant succession, and that require one to listen with closest attention from phrase to phrase.

All this liveliness is something Toscanini delights in and realizes wonderfully in his sharply contoured performance. And wonderful too are the moulding of phrase, the continuity of impetus, the organic coherence in his statement of the eloquent and profound slow movement. The records reproduce well the sound of the performance in Studio 8H; but on side 6 the sound is less resonant and agreeable than elsewhere, and the performance itself is different: this first part of the finale is slightly faster and much less relaxed than the second part on side 7. Possibly side 6 was remade at a later time than the rest. My review copy had only a couple of loud scrapes on one side; but when I went to buy an additional copy it was impossible to find one that did not have invisible but noisy blemishes on two or three sides, when it did not have a badly scratched side or two; and when I got home with an M set I found that its first record was DM (whereupon the dealer told me of the "Nutcracker" Suite records in some sets.)

On the eighth side is an exquisite performance of the Scherzo from Mendelssohn's Octet.

Additional Victor albums offer Leonard Bernstein's "Jeremiah" Symphony, performed by Bernstein with the St. Louis Symphony and Nan Merriman, mezzo-soprano (Set 1026; $3.50); Milhaud's "Protée" Suite No. 2, performed by Monteux with the San Francisco Symphony (Set 1027; $3.50); Debussy's Sacred and Profane Dances for harp and strings, and Ravel's Introduction and Allegro for harp, strings, flute and clarinet, performed by Marcel Grandjany with a chamber orchestra under Sylvan Levin (Set 1021; $3.50); and Rachmaninov's symphonic poem "Isle of the Dead," performed by Koussevitzky with the Boston Symphony (Set 1024; $3.50). I don't find these works interesting as artistic communi-

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cations; but I can report that they are excellently performed and recorded.

In one of its useless two-record showpiece "albums" Victor offers Liszt's enjoyable Mephisto Waltz, performed on the piano with brilliance and driving intensity by William Kapell (Set SP-11; $2.25). On the fourth side is Albéniz's "Evocación," which Kapell plays with supple grace, except for some mannered phrasing in the middle section that makes it difficult to follow melodic outlines and rhythm. Played with a Brush pickup the records produce a piano sound with insufficient bass for the treble; with an Astatic Tru-Tan pickup, which cuts down treble and emphasizes bass, the sound is well-balanced.

In another showpiece "album" is Brahms's dull Alto Rhapsody, sung by Marian Anderson with the San Francisco Symphony and Municipal Chorus under Monteux (Set SP-13; $2.25). Except for some metallic high tones from Anderson the performance is excellent and well recorded. And in still another (Set SP-10; $2.25) Grieg's pretty "Peer Gynt" Suite No. 1 is well performed by Goossens with the Cincinnati Symphony and well recorded.

On a single (10-1178; $.75) are Purcell's "I Attempt From Love's Sickness to Fly" and Handel's Siciliana "Let Me Wander, Not Unseen," charming both, and beautifully sung by Blanche Thebom, messo-soprano, with good accompaniments by a string orchestra under Macklin Marrow. On another (11-8986; $1) is Strauss's engaging waltz "Roses From the South," played with gusto by Fiedler and the Boston "Pops" Orchestra, and recorded with reverberant brilliance. And on still another (11-8868; $1) are six chansons by Hindemith to words of Rilke, which I like no more than Hindemith's other works, and which are excellently sung by the Victor Chorale under Robert Shaw and well recorded.

CONTRIBUTORS

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR., is the author of "The Age of Jackson."

STEFAN T. POSSONY, an Austrian writer now living in this country, is the author of several books on economic and military problems.

PAOLO MILANO, on leave from Queens College, is writing an "Introduction to American Classical Literature" for publication in Italy.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Satire or Confusion?

Dear Sirs: Saul K. Padover's A Plan for Germany in the December 22 issue says in one column: "We should not repeat the mistake of the democratic Weimar Republic in leaving the reactionary, militaristic, monarchist teachers unmolested"; and in the next: "After all, the way to teach democracy is to practice it."

I don't know whether this is meant to be a satire on the work of the Psychological Warfare Division, but I submit it as just about the best synthesis of the confusion attendant upon the central problem of German reconstruction—ends and means. TED HEFLEY

Philadelphia, December 30

The Laski Bomb

Dear Sirs: When the chairman of the British Labor Party flies to this country to solve the threat of the atomic bomb for us, it seems an event. Hence we listened closely while in the presence of two thousand men and women Professor Laski excommunicated the business man and free enterprise, tore down all governments as the source of war, and by mighty revolution set up his new world state and a new civilization. It was a painful anti-climax to the splendid Nation Associates meeting.

Or did we fail to comprehend?

Hence we studied the Professor's printed text. "Plan or perish," he commands. "Sovereignty must go." The system of "the business man . . . has outlived its usefulness." "A society dominated by business men could not be trusted." It is based on "human peonage." "The business men have split our society in two." They "impose the law of the jungle upon us all." The United States is on "the direct road to serfdom." And for climax he declaims that "Nazism in all its forms is the culmination of a society built upon the anarchy of free enterprise."

This is news to us. We had not known that the Kaiser and his Junkers, Mussolini, Hirohito, Tojo, and Hitler were business men or supporters of free enterprise; we had thought those aggressors shackled enterprise to their war machines; nor were we aware that the nations of free enterprise had plunged us into two world wars.

Mr. Laski acknowledges his "immense obligation" to the United States. He pays "homage to the great part the United States has played in the organization of military victory." We had supposed he therefore knew that in a system of fairly free enterprise American teamwork among government, labor, capital, business, farmers, scientists, and most of the rest of us—especially our civilian sons, who in a flash became victorious armies—built and put into action the arsenal of democracy which won the war.

What of the Laski plan? We had supposed that Dumbarton Oaks, the San Francisco conference, the creation of the UNO, its ratification by the nations, including that same United States Senate which once repudiated Woodrow Wilson, showed that the world was at least groping, through patient methods of conciliation, for a plan for peace. Not at all. The UNO is grudgingly tolerated by the Professor, but only "on conditions." It is only a stop-gap. "This is not the time to rest content with a temporary plaster. This is the time to begin a new civilization."

What is this new civilization? "We must have boundaries . . . between liberalism and socialism. . . . We must have power in the hands of men . . . who find abundance is the instrument of freedom." "We are before a revolution more mighty even than the vast change which came . . . with Copernicus."

Here are fighting words; here is the flaming Laski blueprint. If we comprehend, it demands nothing less than that through world revolution the United States must dissolve its Constitution and Bill of Rights, Britain must liquidate its empire, even little Switzerland must be swallowed up by a world state which destroys all business men and free enterprise and is governed by high priests of "abundance."

As for us despised liberals, we look on business men as we do on professors. There are good ones and bad ones. "A man's a man for a' that." We do not believe in blanket indictments. We hold with robber barons and monopolists no more than with dictators or demagogues.

We need not be told that this is a grim world. Neither did we need our guest's lecture about the Negroes. Though we fought a civil war to free them, we are painfully aware this was not enough. We were shocked that in

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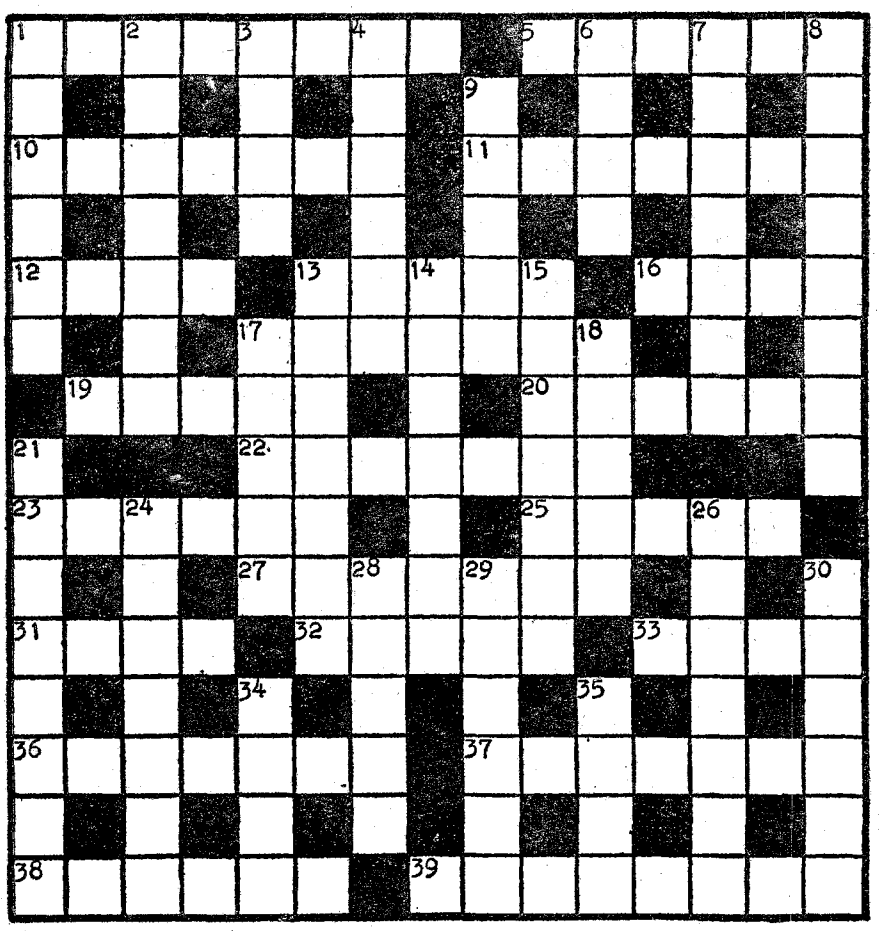
Crossword Puzzle No. 145

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 His shell was the British Army's "secret weapon" during the Peninsular War
5 Jefferson called him "one of the three greatest men"
10 He cannot complain of being outnumbered in the fight
11 Delays upset the toilers
12 Let's make the clue "Needle case" this time
13 Final warning
16 It levels all ranks, as the Captain reminded the Admiral
17 Tool with claws
19 Where Saul consulted the witch
20 Wooden leg, or its user (hyphen, 3-3)
22 We see nothing in this flavor
23 The eagle is ours
25 Expel
27 An outstandingly bright feature of the circus clown (two words, 3 & 4)
31 It cannot grind with the water that has passed
32 Where knights of old often ran into one another
33 "Life is a jest, and all things show it; I thought so ----, but now I know it"
36 Run true (anag.)
37 "Go in, sir" (anag.)
38 Elgin's unmarried
39 Double entendre (two words, 4 & 4)

DOWN

1 A capital fellow from Down Under
2 Did Sir Henry's ear turn red?
3 Humorously, your physiognomy
4 Take by compulsion
6 When a lad leaves Ireland, he may leave this
7 Why fret over oil when we have this plant?
8 If the birds have flown, it may be because these have been removed (hyphen, 4-4)
9 Embrace
13 Sweetmeat made by Clara and me
14 Appoints an ass to head it
15 Unfortunate, this
17 "Oh would I were dead now, Or up in my bed now, To ----- my head now, And have a good cry!"
18 ----- the warp, and ditto the woof
21 Word in America for the end of the line
24 Scene of two Union defeats in 1861-2 (two words, 4 & 3)
26 Hero of Voltaire's novel so called
28 Passed out around five
29 Lazy
30 Old Faithful, perhaps
34 Bird of prey, and the reverse
35 He should have a good memory

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 144

ACROSS:—1 LOHENGRIN; 6 CALEB; 9 RETREAD; 10 NUMERAL; 11 OCH; 12 LEMNOS; 13 LIES; 15 RETICENT; 16 KOPECK; 18 TRUISM; 20 CHEATERS; 23 ESPY; 24 SPITED; 25 BED; 28 REALGAR; 29 IRON ORE; 30 WHANG; 31 STRADDLES.

DOWN:—1 LARGO; 2 HATCHET; 3 NEEDLE CASE; 4 RUDIMENT; 5 NONCOM; 6 CAMP; 7 LARAINE; 8 BILL SIKES; 14 HOT AND COLD; 15 ROTTEN ROW; 17 WHITTIER; 19 UPPSALA; 21 EMBROIL; 22 SPARKS; 26 DYERS; 27 AGOG.

the universal range of Mr. Laski's vision he was silent about his party's and his government's conduct regarding Palestine, India, and Indonesia.

Looking back on a century and a half, we fancied that though we, the people of the United States, stumble and sometimes backslide, though we are racked by grave domestic and foreign conflicts, inequalities, and injustices, we had, through our halting constitutional system of checks and balances, created something worth cherishing and extending toward a more equal and abundant life for all men. UNRRA seems better to us than the undertaker. We of the United States who are incurable builders do not believe that to shatter is to construct. The Laski bomb seems to us a dud. JAMES N. ROSENBERG

New York, December 28

Credit to Dr. Duggan

IN HIS ARTICLE Homage to Alvin Johnson, in *The Nation* of January 5, Max Lerner credited the retiring head of the New School with initiating the committee which during the war found places in American universities for exiled European scholars. Dr. Johnson has protested. He writes that "the credit for this magnificent job belongs wholly to Dr. Stephen P. Duggan, the dean of American international education." The fact is, both men deserve honor for their part in that excellent enterprise. Dr. Duggan was chairman of the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars, but Dr. Johnson was closely and actively associated with its work.—EDITORS THE NATION.

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